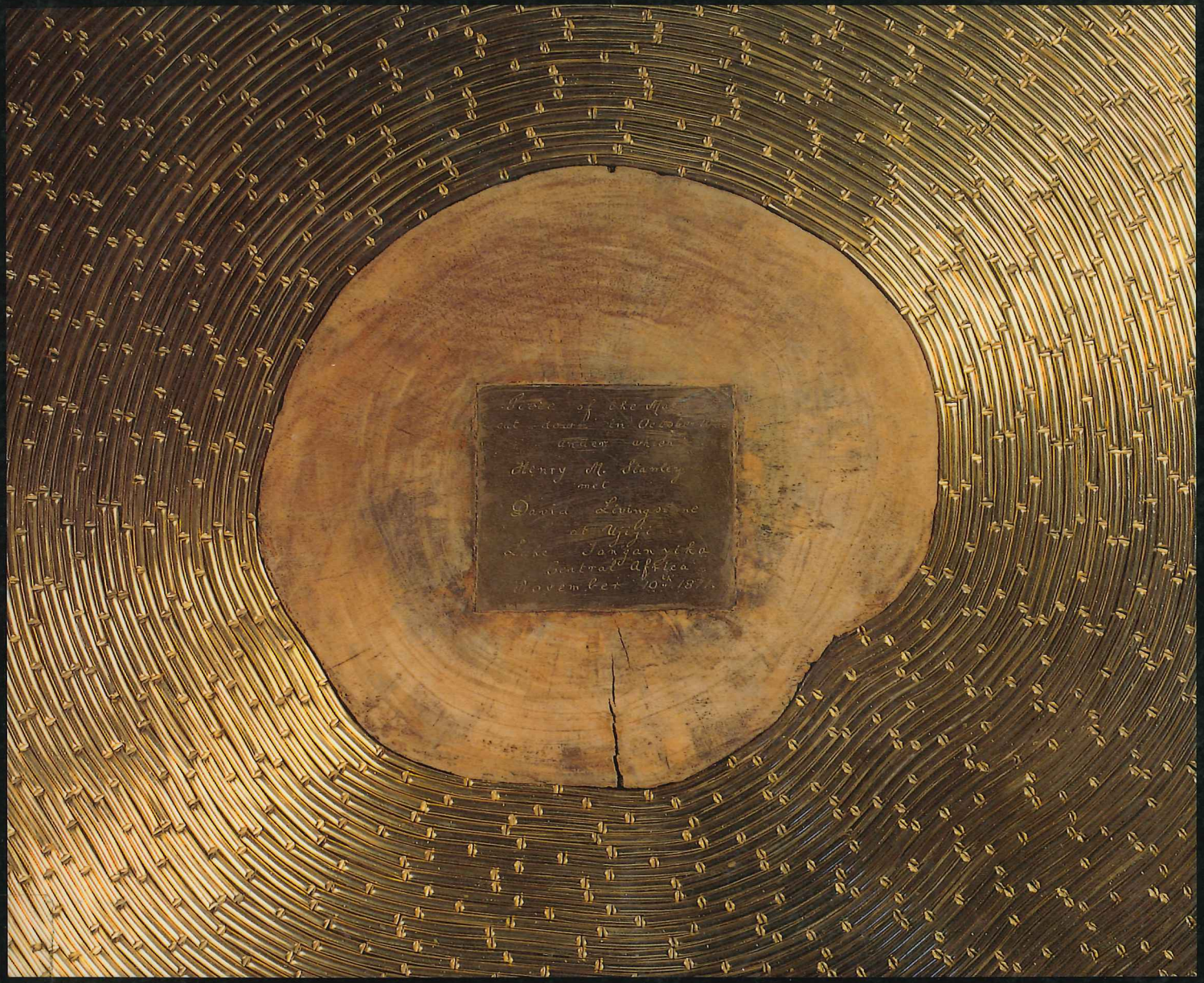
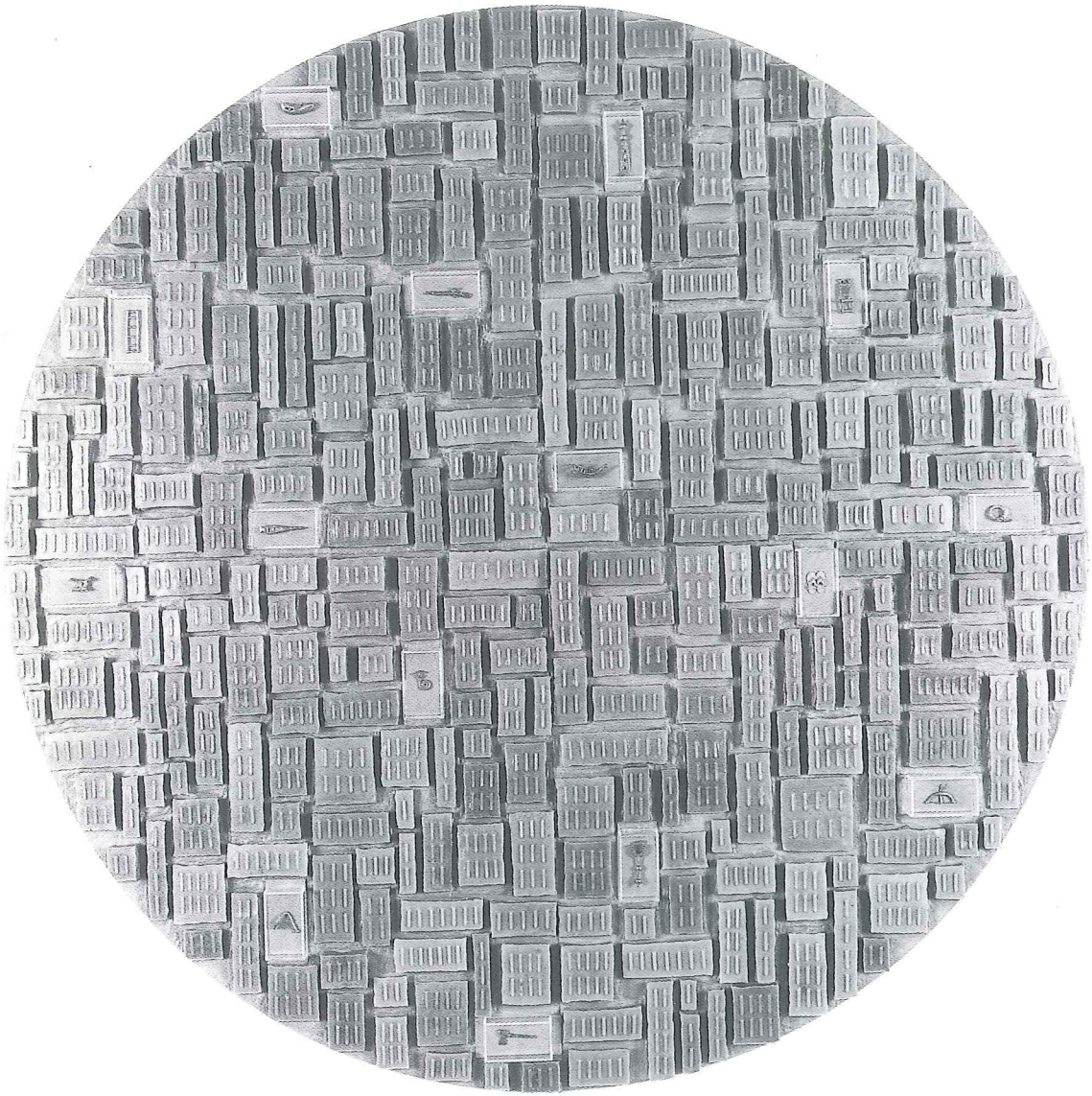


Hilty, Reason and Shelton

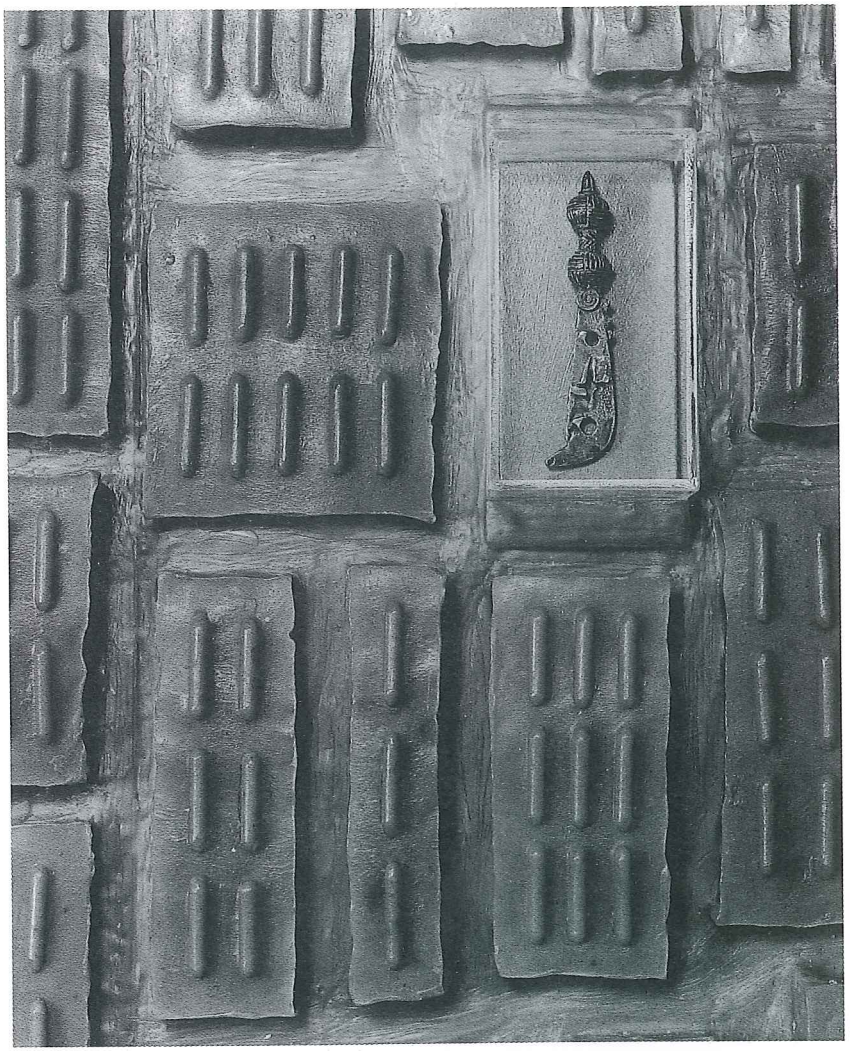
HOLD

Acquisition, Representation, Perception

Work by Shirley Chubb



Ghana I, 1995
Asante gold weights, perspex cases, African beeswax on board, 165 cm diameter



Ghana I, 1995 (detail)
Asante gold weight, perspex case, African beeswax on board

Greg Hilty, David Reason and Anthony Shelton

HOLD

Acquisition, Representation, Perception
Work by Shirley Chubb

Catalogues and Occasional Papers Series II
General Editor: Anthony Shelton

The Green Centre for Non-Western Art and Culture
at
The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton

Exhibition organized by Louise Tythacott and Nicola Coleby with the assistance of Elizabeth Adcock, Joanna Haire, Joy McCall and Jennifer Peck

Published by The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton, East Sussex, BN1 1EE, England on the occasion of the exhibition *Hold: Recent Work by Shirley Chubb* at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, 11 March - 2 April 1995

Exhibition toured by South East Exhibitions Project

Edited by Louise Tythacott and Nicola Coleby

Designed by Rachael Adams

Photographs by Nicholas Sinclair and Fred Woodley

Printed and bound by Newman Thomson Limited, Brighton

Financial assistance for this publication has been provided by Chichester Institute of Higher Education, South East Arts and The James Henry Green Charitable Trust

ISBN 0948 723 23 8

Cover: *Tanzania*, 1995 (detail)
Commemorative plaque mounted on section of mango tree, cut brass wire

Exhibition supported by

BRIGHTON BOROUGH COUNCIL Arts & Leisure Services

CHICHESTER INSTITUTE of HIGHER EDUCATION A College of the University of Southampton

SOUTH-EAST ARTS

DELTA EXTRUSION

OPUS Stained Glass

Trafalgar FOR FINE ENGRAVING

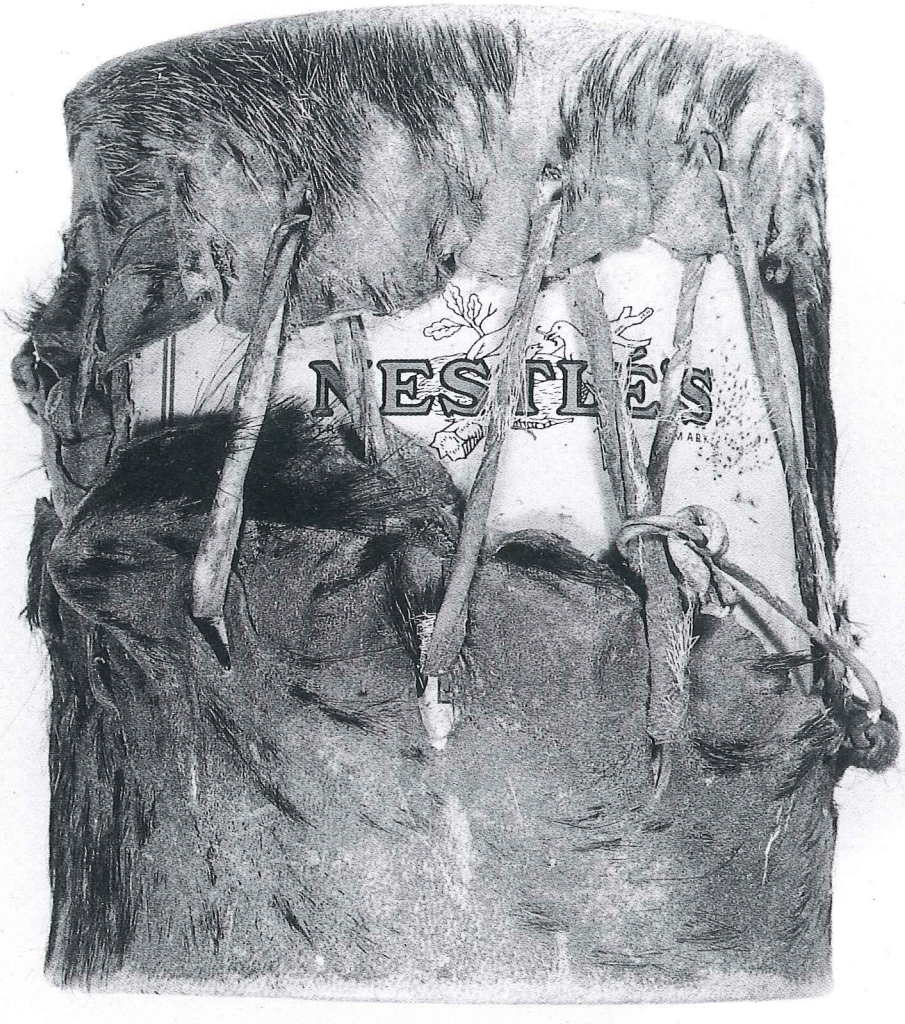
Preface

The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton are delighted to have been able to facilitate Shirley Chubb's latest project involving our extensive ethnographic holdings. Some two years ago when the Non-Western Art and Anthropology Department displayed Chubb's work *Travel*, at the entrance to the first of its newly refurbished galleries, we were puzzled by its presence. The composition, painted a bright metallic gold, has two rows of eight buttons belonging to the South Staffordshire Regiment. Above and below the buttons are maps of South Africa and northern Italy showing the Regiment's position at the turn of the century, at the peak of Britain's overseas empire, and at the end of the First World War. These are surrounded by innumerable striations, painstakingly built-up by repeated brush-strokes, intended to represent people displaced from the land by military actions. The themes of the uneasy relationship between Western colonialism and colonised peoples, the imposition of Western power, the creation of arbitrary boundaries, the alienation of non-Western peoples from their land, history and cultural traditions, here are explored again and enlarged in the six pieces that comprise the exhibition *Hold: Recent Work by Shirley Chubb.*

The title of the exhibition, held at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, was chosen by the artist because of its diverse resonances and rich associations. The Museum holds artifacts, some of which have been held in Shirley Chubb's own hands and are now held in her compositions. The Museum also holds intellectual and ideological views about the importance, significance and value of objects as well as views regarding their preservation, display and interpretation. Our hold is therefore physical and institutional as well as intellectual. Brighton Museum and Art Gallery is delighted to see how Shirley Chubb has unleashed a rich and diverse constellation of associations embedded, but until now invisible, in such humble and at first sight unremarkable objects as brass weights, a drum, a slice of tree, part of a loom, a basket and a metal pot. The sincerity, intellect and creativity which she has used to create her own hold on these objects is profound.

Brighton Museum and Art Gallery has a growing tradition of supporting and showing exhibitions that critically explore the nature and intellectual history of museums and the problems, limitations and ideological presuppositions underlying the construction of any form of visual representation. The Museum's two new Non-Western Art and Anthropology galleries were only designed after thorough research into the history of the relationship between academic anthropology and the display of non-Western artifacts in museums. As a result, the Museum relaxed its claims to authoritative presentation and instead established the two galleries to represent the diverse views of Western collectors and non-Western peoples on common aspects of culture. The emphasis has been placed on the arbitration of meaning between different cultures, with the Museum acknowledging and participating in, rather than passively reflecting, the issues and debates that are fundamental to the existence of a multicultural Europe and a culturally heterogeneous world.

The Museum has explored these issues and has provided a forum for debate through a series of temporary exhibitions: *Exotics: North American Indian Culture and the European,* 1991 (on Native American images of Europeans and European images of Native Americans); *In Fusion: New European Art,* 1993 (a National Touring Exhibition from the South Bank Centre in collaboration with the Ikon Gallery, on the fusion of non-Western identities with European culture); *Kinyozi: The Art of African Hairstyles,* 1994-5 (organized in collaboration with



Drum, Africa, mid-twentieth century
Non-Western Art Collection, The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton

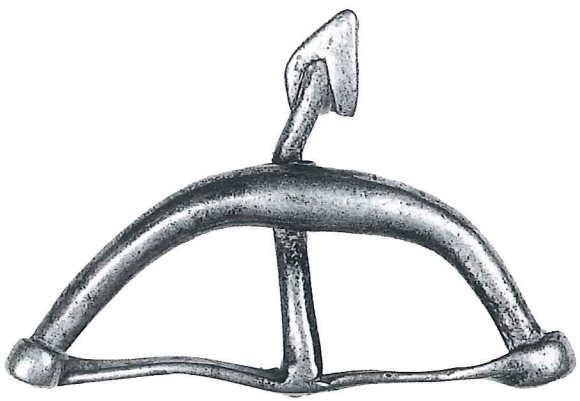
National Touring Exhibitions at the South Bank Centre, on the relationship between global images and local communities); and *Badgering the People. Mao Badges: A Retrospective* 1950-1994, 1995 (on the cult of leadership). This programme of innovative exhibitions will continue after *Hold: Recent Work by Shirley Chubb,* with *Fetishism,* 1995 (organized in collaboration with National Touring Exhibitions at the South Bank Centre, on the historical usage of the word 'fetish') and works by the artist Sonia Boyce in the Non-Western Art Gallery, 1995.

Hold: Recent Work by Shirley Chubb has been organised by Louise Tythacott and Nicola Coleby at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, with the assistance of Elizabeth Adcock, Joanna Haire, Joy McCall and Jennifer Peck. We would particularly like to thank Elizabeth Adcock for designing the poster, flyer and private view cards for the show. Anthony Shelton, Keeper of Non-Western Art and Anthropology, facilitated Shirley Chubb's research on the collections, and Birthe Christensen, St. John Child, Roy Flint, Gerry Hawkey, Mike Jones, Ray Martin and John Powell from the Conservation and Design Department also provided expert support and advice.

Brighton Museum and Art Gallery is grateful to Caroline Collier and South East Arts, and to the Green Centre for Non-Western Art and Culture, whose financial support enabled the project and the catalogue to develop. We are also grateful to Delta Extruded Metals Company Limited and Opus Stained Glass who provided the materials for the installation works, and to Chichester Institute of Higher Education for its generous provision of research funds. Our thanks are also extended to Harry Persaud and library staff at the Museum of Mankind, London, to Terry Baringer at the Royal Commonwealth Society Collection, Cambridge and to Roland Kaehr at the Musée D'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel. The International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU), University of Durham and the Mass Observation Archive, University of Sussex provided support for the exhibition during the developmental stages of the work.

In particular Shirley Chubb would like to thank Roy Mills, Alison Evans, Lucy Ogden, Sylph Baier and Jane Fordham for their help with the installation work. Most of all she would like to thank Bruce Williams for his encouragement and support throughout the entire project. Finally the staff at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery would all like to extend their thanks to Shirley Chubb for her commitment, hard work and patience.

Jessica Rutherford
Head of Museums and Director of The Royal Pavilion, Brighton



Contents

Introduction

MAPPING REALITIES

Gerald Blake

In the modern world most of us tend to regard maps as accurate and objective representations of the earth's surface, or scale models of reality. Map users have a lot of faith in the maps they buy, whether it is for back packing or motoring, or for military and administrative purposes. Mapmaking today is increasingly considered to be an exact science, because surveying and cartography are supported by sophisticated technology involving the use of satellites and computer-generated graphics. No map can achieve absolute accuracy, and at best they are only rough representations of the 'real' world. The design and contents of all maps have been carefully selected to give a particular emphasis, or convey a chosen theme. Maps are powerful tools in persuading people to think and act in particular ways. The ancient European maps reflected the reality and beliefs of the time with their margins embellished with monsters, religious symbols or tributes to their patrons. The mapmakers were both artists and cartographers whose creations remain objects of interest and beauty to this day.

In some senses Shirley Chubb takes us back to that tradition in which cartography and art come together to inform and inspire. Those old maps were aesthetically pleasing as well as being packed with information. Perhaps the artist sees this element in contemporary maps more readily than the geographer. The map imagery in Shirley Chubb's work is sufficiently recognizable to remind us of the real world, while her artistic interpretation invites us to use our imaginations to see the world in different ways. Shirley Chubb clearly respects maps, but she also understands the potential for conveying unwelcome and disturbing information, and their crucial role in war and imperialism.

Shirley Chubb's new work incorporates the same concern to map, place and explore different concepts of reality. The African ethnographic objects she has chosen to 'hold' in the exhibition at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, are to her as evocative of places, cultures and peoples, as the European maps that originally inspired her work. Mapping is still included in these new works but this takes on a different form: the large waxpiece, *Ghana I*, which is made in the shape of a circle relates to the cartographic symbol for a settlement; both *Angola* and *Gambia* incorporate maps of the relevant countries; and the centre-piece of the exhibition, *Tanzania*, maps out the historic journey that Stanley made to find Livingstone.

Although Shirley Chubb's installations look at maps and mapping, the real aim of her work is to make people think about the worlds these people represent. In this sense then there is a strong continuity between her previous cartographic works and these new installations at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.

Holds are synonymous with depots. Large holding sheds, so essential for receiving the valued raw materials and merchandise accumulated from overseas adventures, were constructed from the nineteenth century onwards. The *Ivory Floor* of the London Docks (from a photograph taken in the early twentieth century) covered with the tusks of slaughtered elephants, recalls the general despoliation of the African continent and the terrible legacy of unrestrained accumulation. Courtesy of the British Museum.

MUSEUMS: HOLDS OF MEANINGS, CARGOES OF RE-COLLECTIONS

Anthony Shelton

HOLD: "The use of a simple word was chosen to convey firstly a complex set of emotions, responses and developments within my own work. Secondly, to convey the subtle notion of a museum's collection. And thirdly, to reflect how these two realities, the personal and the institutional, become reliant and accentuated by the other, held together." Shirley Chubb, 1995.

"Since all museums are subjective, why don't we acknowledge the subjectivity?" Peter Greenaway (1).

HOLD, 'a place of refuge or shelter; a lurking place' (2).

Enlightened humanism is combined with Gothic fantasy, the harsh light of classical Greece with the suffused twilight of Victorian Britain; a contradiction that takes form and shape in the preferred architectural styles for museum buildings - the disorienting interiors and fanciful façades of Neo-Gothic or Neo-Romanesque edifices (the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Exeter's Royal Albert Museum, The University Museum at Oxford, or the Manchester Museum, part of the Victoria University of Manchester). Royal appellations of the epoch in which they were founded abound, closely associating the Neo-Gothic or Neo-Romanesque museum with the age of imperialism and colonial expansion. The style forewarns us of what we shall encounter within walls evocative of neither the department store nor mausoleum (3). Museums become the 'lurking places' for taciturn parents, distracted school children, erstwhile scholars, curious tourists, and the lonely or aged, who, from the fragmentary and shabby testimonials of the past, reassure themselves that they lived the lives they now can only imagine.

Museums become the resting place of social memories, re-constituted and re-presented through objectivising discourse and display technology. The Gothic museum submerges its visitors in its vaults hewn of interstitial melancholia - interstitial precisely because the Gothic museum holds its artifacts between the borderlines of different cultures or social classes, at the boundaries and between the margins of different periods which are blurred and displaced in the conjured romanticism that the architecture effects.

The classical style museum building provides the alternative image of Western civilization - glacial, functional with a strong and simple linearity, and uncompromising monumentality. A measured imperial style, but unlike its Gothic counterparts, its interiors slice up space, create well defined areas, classify artifacts into established categories in accordance with accepted aesthetic principles. Both Gothic and classical museums provide refuges for 'objects out of place', but while the Gothic model subordinates such objects to romantic fantasy (4), its classical cousin asserts the triumph of Western categories that incorporate objects into intellectual and aesthetic orders. Few displays, and usually only those responding to crises, approach the heterogeneity in the unsanctioned refuges about which idealists dream. *A chacun sa croix* (1991) where the Musée D'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel exhibited objects from their collection chosen at random to parody the arbitrary decision of their

municipal patrons to cut the museum's budget, provided a rare example of a display where the museum's hold was temporarily released. More recently Peter Pick's installation of African objects wrapped in cling film, *Objekte schlagen zuruck* (1994), piled high on pallets, scattered on the floor or stuck to blackened walls at Köln's Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum questioned the priorities of financial planners to provide adequate exhibition spaces and protection of the city's cultural patrimony (5). Museums justly claim to hold objects in trust on behalf of the region, the nation, even humanity itself, but such refuges are perhaps inevitably more usually determined by ideological didacticism. Furthermore, the metaphor of the museum as a 'hold' may assume less significance as new forms of creativity and means of producing representations develop. In two exhibitions in Barcelona and Geneva, Peter Greenaway has developed the idea of a 'museum without walls' by combining cinematographic and exhibition techniques to create viewing platforms which frame particular sights and situations while placing an audience within the field of real and unique action (6). In another intervention in 1991, Shimon Attie projected old slides of scenes from Berlin's pre-war Jewish ghetto, the *Scheunenviertel,* on to the present buildings in the area, to evoke memories of its tragic past (7). The ghostly juxtaposition of light, images and crumbling mortar that sets up an ambiguous opposition between the past and present, produces a far more powerful impression than most conventional historical exhibitions that rely on material objects. Unlike museum displays, light spectacles like this can continue to haunt the viewer far longer than the time required to forget a museum visit.

HOLD, 'a fort or fortress: a stronghold'.

The museum refuge is a 'building out of place', which its architecture sets aside from the cityscape. By its very style the building is easily perceived as elitist and closed, a quality it incessantly disputes by internal programmes, exhibitions and conveniences. The museum is first the victim of its own architecture (8). The value, whether scientific, artistic or monetary, of its holdings necessarily makes the museum into a stronghold. Part of its purpose is to 'withstand'. It needs therefore, to deploy a defensive and, at times, offensive position against its contending agents. The museum stands as a fortress against time. In its classical guise its architecture asserts historical continuity with the fledgling origins of Western civilization itself. There are few more impressionable images than the great classical facade of Berlin's Pergamon Museum, on first sight an elegant yet defiant and impregnable fortress against the forgetfulness and calamities of time, but then, on drawing nearer, blackened columns and walls which are still riddled by bullet holes, punctuate its timeless illusion. In the Gothic or Romanesque museum, time is annulled into a romanticised a-historical world of co-existent forms, textures, styles, materials and colours, held in a sort of magical stasis to provide an inventory of examples and possibilities. Recall the sculpture court at the Victoria and Albert Museum or the specimens of marble brought from all over the world to make the supporting pillars around the central gallery of the University Museum, Oxford. The battle against time becomes a fight against decay as whole departments of conservators are deployed to freeze the condition of the objects entrusted to them and to maintain the incorruptibility of the buildings which hold them.

The museum must also withstand sudden or imposed changes in its classification of objects, organization of galleries, or the basis of its educational work - it can multiply and diversify the stories told, but seldom questions

the basis of its own didacticism. Consistent with the primary function of transmitting representations, museum knowledge, work and style aim, with few exceptions, to represent contemporary scholarship, fulfill cultural and social needs and present current or good design. Malcolm McLeod's initiative, *Spores*, (1994) at the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, promoted contemporary creativity by making the museum into a forum through which artists, scientists and curators interacted, fostering dialogue and the process of creativity. The British Museum, if at times hesitant, has been forceful in promoting an open dialogue between contemporary artists and its collections. Curators have played the role of facilitators, enabling artists to engage in sometimes dissonant, but always suggestive, relationships with collections. The first of these exhibitions, Eduardo Paolozzi's *Lost Magic Kingdoms and Six Paper Moons from Nahuatl,* (Museum of Mankind, 1985), facilitated by Malcolm McLeod, was followed by *Time Machine: Ancient Egyptian Art and Contemporary Art* (9), organised by James Putnam, to be followed by an exhibition of installation art by Sokari Douglas Camp (10), presently being organised by John Mack in the Ethnography Department of the British Museum. Malcolm McLeod notes, more generally of this trend, that: 'Only in this way will (museums) get unexpected results, have awkward or unanswerable questions asked, be part of new ways of looking at their collections, new ways of perceiving the world' (11).

Museums strive to withstand the commoditization of the artifacts they hold. The monetary value of items in the collections are seldom made public: curators, some of whom may be knowledgeable about the art market, are prohibited from giving valuations of objects brought to their scrutiny. The museum environment acts as if it forms part of a terrain that is independent of the capitalist market. It tries to deny capital forms as a unitary and general standard of exchange or that objective ratios and proportions can be calculated between it and 'art' objects. Museum discourse on value alludes to non-specific intangible qualities supposedly inherent in such objects as the source of their value: the material condition of the artifact (weathering, tactility, patina), formal aesthetic qualities (style, proportion, volume), intangible qualities (aura, feeling, presence) or uniqueness, to make the museum object 'invaluable', protected, safe in its fortress-like stronghold.

HOLD, 'confinement, custody, imprisonment'.

Museums excercise a custodial role not only over objects, but also over representations of peoples, cultures and histories, which are neither necessarily pernicious nor munificent. Museums hold and fix images of human beings which, once stripped of their personal identities, can become objectified racial typologies. These frozen image stereotypes have often been contentious. A stuffed 'Kalahari Bushman' (San) displayed in the Natural History Museum in Banyoles, Spain, threatened to provoke a boycott by African countries of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games (12). The political and cultural implications of racial typologies that were once part of South Africa's ethnographic displays, in a post-apartheid society, have now had to be radically revised (13). The Marischal Museum, Aberdeen, is unique in having made explicit the implicit racial assumptions underlying such representations by attaching a protest sign to mannequins of a 'Hottentot' (Khoikhoi) couple pointedly asking whether they should be regarded as humans or curiosities (14).

Contrary to popular opinion, most ethnographic collections, in the United Kingdom at least, far from

Angola, 1995 (detail)
Etched and plain glass, screenprint, acrylic and cellulose paint on board, one of twenty-two cases, each 32 x 33.5 x 14.5 cm

comprising invaluable sculptures, extraordinary and forgotten art or royal treasures and sovereign regalia, actually in the main consist of items of technology (used for hunting, trapping, fishing, agriculture, weaving), domestic wares (baskets, pots, containers, utensils), pastimes (pipes, games, musical instruments), clothing and personal adornments, weapons and objects made specifically for foreigners. What appears to have most fascinated British travellers, explorers, administrators and missionaries were not the rare trophies, but everyday material culture (15). Consequently the acquisition of exotic objects, while often obtained through exploitative exchange relationships, were less commonly looted or taken under threat of duress. It would be misleading therefore, to see the majority of museum collections as 'imprisoned', confiscated, held either against the interests of their producers or in contravention of their legal title. The objects from Brighton Museum's Non-Western Art Collection that Shirley Chubb has chosen to work with - an Angolan basket, part of a 'Mandinga' narrow strip loom, a drum made from a powdered milk tin, Asante gold weights made from brass and a Ghanaian pot - give a more accurate profile of the collections than the permanent displays in the Non-Western Art and Anthropology galleries, with their bias towards figurative pieces, which constitutes perhaps only five percent of holdings.

Objects such as the above have tended to be ignored because of their familiarity and meagre value, while rare museum objects have received disproportionate attention because of their presumed exoticism, typological importance or transcendental value. These latter kinds of objects may more properly be seen as held in confinement. The museum has effectively taken them from common circulation and holds them in order to define social and cultural standards (scientific, aesthetic, economic) by which similar examples can be classified and valued. The very inclusion of objects in museum collections provides an institutional pedigree that consecrates their symbolic value and legitimates their supposed importance. Alternatively, certain objects may be transcendental symbols of national or regional significance. Museum objects act as cultural capital, inferring status and prestige on their holders (nations, municipalities, private collectors), supporting standards of economic worth (by which the art market can ascribe value to similar objects), and provide the guarantee and measures of absolute values (scientific, cultural or aesthetic).

HOLD, 'a grasp which is not physical'.

The Brazilian-Dutch artist, Claudio Goulart has noted: 'We may know the facts but the way they are visually presented may deeply affect the way we understand them' (16). The way museums intellectually grasp their objects has been at the forefront of recent debates on ideology and representations. It can be of no surprise therefore, that museums hold strong intellectual views on the significance, value or importance of the objects they hold in custody. Broadly speaking non-Western artifacts have been situated in either a modernist discourse or they have naïvely been re-contextualized by anthropological realism. The former focusses on the similarities to be found between the formal, sculptural or pictorial qualities of non-Western and Western art, subsuming them under classical or Kantian categories of aesthetics (17). The arbitrary ideological play between these two positions has been exposed both by Fred Wilson, who in the early 1990s looked at the effect of installing works in different display settings and by The Centre for African Art's *Art / Artifact* exhibition (New York,1988), where the crucial

influence of design and technology in determining the perception of African objects as either art or material culture was demonstrated.

The focus on the aestheticization of non-Western art can be contrasted with the displays of more explicitly didactic institutions, such as missionary museums, with their concern to demonstrate progress in their proselytizing campaigns; colonial museums, which attempt to provide windows on overseas territories; military museums, which retain 'trophies' and souvenirs of warfare; and trading societies, which encourage overseas investment interests (18).

In recent years it has been institutions most closely linked with European colonialism, that have been at the forefront of decolonizing the terms of their own displays. The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has re-oriented itself away from the spectacular and the unique to exhibitions which focus on the popular and national cultures of Third-World countries (19). The ethnography museums of Frankfurt and the port cities of Rotterdam and Hamburg have pioneered exhibitions of contemporary African sculptures and paintings, challenging long-held notions of the unchanging nature of African art. Liverpool has gone even further in adjusting tired stereotyped images of Africa by establishing a permanent gallery devoted to the history of slavery (20). Such museums while not relaxing their hold on older collection areas, are repositioning their intellectual grasp in line with contemporary geo-political and cultural realities. The most challenging museum, the *bête noire*, of ethnographic museums, the Musée D'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel has demonstrated in a series of inspired exhibitions the fragility and tenaciousness of the hold museums excercise over meaning and the potentially subversive nature of their heterogeneous collections (21).

Categorization and labelling hold objects and meanings together. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century ethnographic categories such as 'fetish', exoticized and charged objects with an arcane and mysterious significance that connoted ideas of racial inferiority. 'Fetishes' and charms are still closely identified, in the popular imagination, with witchcraft, magic and other beliefs associated with a pre-rational and superstitious mind. Before the more recent explosion of guides and catalogues to museum collections, objects, without their labels, became easily bereft of meaning. The systems of difference between categories of objects marked by labels are never set and immutable. In many museums up until the 1950s the information for labels was often obtained directly from the personal experiences and presuppositions of the donors. Only after being lost or the object becoming displayed, was the original label substituted for more 'objective' attempts at description and classification. At Brighton Museum and Art Gallery there are two systems of labels. One relates to objects in store that still have the original labels provided by early donors or curators. The second system has been created for the objects now on display. These labels, printed on perspex, are depersonalized, objectivized and limited by set geographical, ethnic, chronological and historical criteria. By untying labels from objects and incorporating them naked into her own work, Shirley Chubb makes ethnographic objects connote new, challenging and often disturbing situations and conditions that are frequently filled with irony and pathos. The museum's hold over meaning was tenuous even before the recent advent of post-modernist criticism which *Hold: Recent Work by Shirley Chubb* forcefully demonstrates can equally be communicated by a visual language as well as by text.

HOLD, 'The action or an act of holding, keeping in hand, or grasping; grasp. Also, an opportunity of holding'.

The museum space is a political space. Access to reserve holdings is restricted, popular curatorship over exhibitions has only recently begun to be pioneered by museums in Canada and England, opportunities for intervention in their ideological hold over objects are limited, though becoming increasingly fashionable. Curators are in a central position to open up and democratize exhibition spaces and facilitate a plurality of voices to communicate through visual and textual media within and between communities. Possessive custodianship (though not standards of conservation and display) must be relaxed in favour of empowering wider publics to influence curatorship and democratize the museum environment. Those who want a voice must, where possible, be given the opportunity of holding and re-presenting the objects previously held by collectors, auction houses, artists and craftspeople. The physicality of objects, submerged by the emphasis on visual qualities in museum displays, must be re-gained, flesh reunited with the gritty, smooth, sharp, cold, cutting, jagged, rough, warm materiality of the object world that, until now, the eye communicates only to the mind and heart.

Ethnographic museums can count a long and intimate association with subversives and revolutionaries who have zealously sacked their collections to challenge the dominant political and cultural fictions of their times; Picasso, Epstein, Moore, Pollock and many of the French surrealists were involved in recategorizing or subverting museum classificatory systems. Until recently, however, this relationship has been academic: Picasso, Epstein or Moore were primarily interested in formal properties, rather than in the politics of representation, and materiality was restored through the secondary objects that they created rather than through the primary media which provided their inspiration. The Surrealists' passion was for confirmation of the poetic value of the irrational lying dormant in the Western unconscious rather than the discovery of a conscious and articulate indigenous exegesis of parallel worlds of experience which non-Western art expressed.

There have been relatively few artists' interventions in museum displays; these are usually reflexive, relatively few and only a recent phenomena. The surrealist anti-colonial exhibition, *The Truth about the Colonies* (Paris,1931), demonstrated well the potentially subversive nature of critical curatorship. Using similar categories to those employed by the official colonial exhibition of the same year, the Surrealists countered Western assumptions of inherent superiority by displaying Catholic reliquaries and saints as 'fetishes' and common every-day Western objects as 'magical'. At the same time, non-Western artifacts were exhibited alongside surrealist *objets trouvés* and other categories of surrealist objects as part of the critical aim of undermining bourgeois taste and values. The Western frame of reference was to be punctured, and accepted relationships disconnected to defamiliarize the familiar. As Dawn Ades explains: 'The point of juxtaposition from an extensive field, too, like the point of the Surrealist image (verbal or visual collage) was not to seek affinities but to disorientate and shock through difference' (22). It is the confrontational quality of non-Western art, that challenges dominant Western imagery through style, construction and perceived meaning, that has given it a central catalytic role in modernist experimentation. Non-Western artifacts have generally been juxtaposed with other art forms to question classifications of art. This has not only been a surrealist strategy, but has also been employed by more recent installations, created by artists and anthropologists alike. Subversive interventions into the museum space have used three basic strategies: juxtaposition, inflation of classificatory logic and incorporation.

In the United Kingdom, the most publicised artistic intervention in an ethnography collection was made in 1985 by Eduardo Paolozzi in *Lost Magic Kingdoms and Six Paper Moons from Nahuatl* (Museum of Mankind, London). Sharing many of the romantic notions of the Surrealists and similar political sympathies, Paolozzi 'quarried' the Museum of Mankind's reserve collection for objects that he displayed alongside his own sculptures, raw materials, sketchbooks, photographs and casts to construct object assemblages. The creation of the marvellous from the everyday, moral provocation and the engineered cynicism against established definitions of art and aesthetic taste, echo the aspirations of the Surrealists. Both his assemblages - which involved the juxtaposition of diverse objects of very different material value, age, significance and usage and in different states of completion - and his organisation of the gallery space, provoked new questions that fundamentally challenged 'orthodox' curatorial practice. Each object assemblage referred only to its own constituent elements and not to the others around it, forcing visitors to question how the exhibition, without a beginning or end, was to be read. Linear and cumulative description, on which the construction of rationalized relationships depend, was subverted in favour of the simultaneity and disconnectedness of each assemblage. Reading codes modelled on written narratives, notably the genre of natural realism, were problematized. Accepted distinctions between different forms of visual culture were questioned. The juxtaposition of non-Western objects and Paolozzi's own sculptures, with no label to distinguish between them, blurred the distinction between non-Western and Western art forms, forcing the audience to think hard about previously accepted hierarchies, values and art forms. The boundaries between 'art', musical instruments and toys were also merged, forcing audiences and reviewers to admit outrage at a sacrilege which played so effectively against established truths and classifications. Disregard for the accepted dogmas of the art institutions also threatened to collapse clear distinctions between authentic and fake objects, models and mechanical reproductions, all of which were given equal status and value within the gallery.

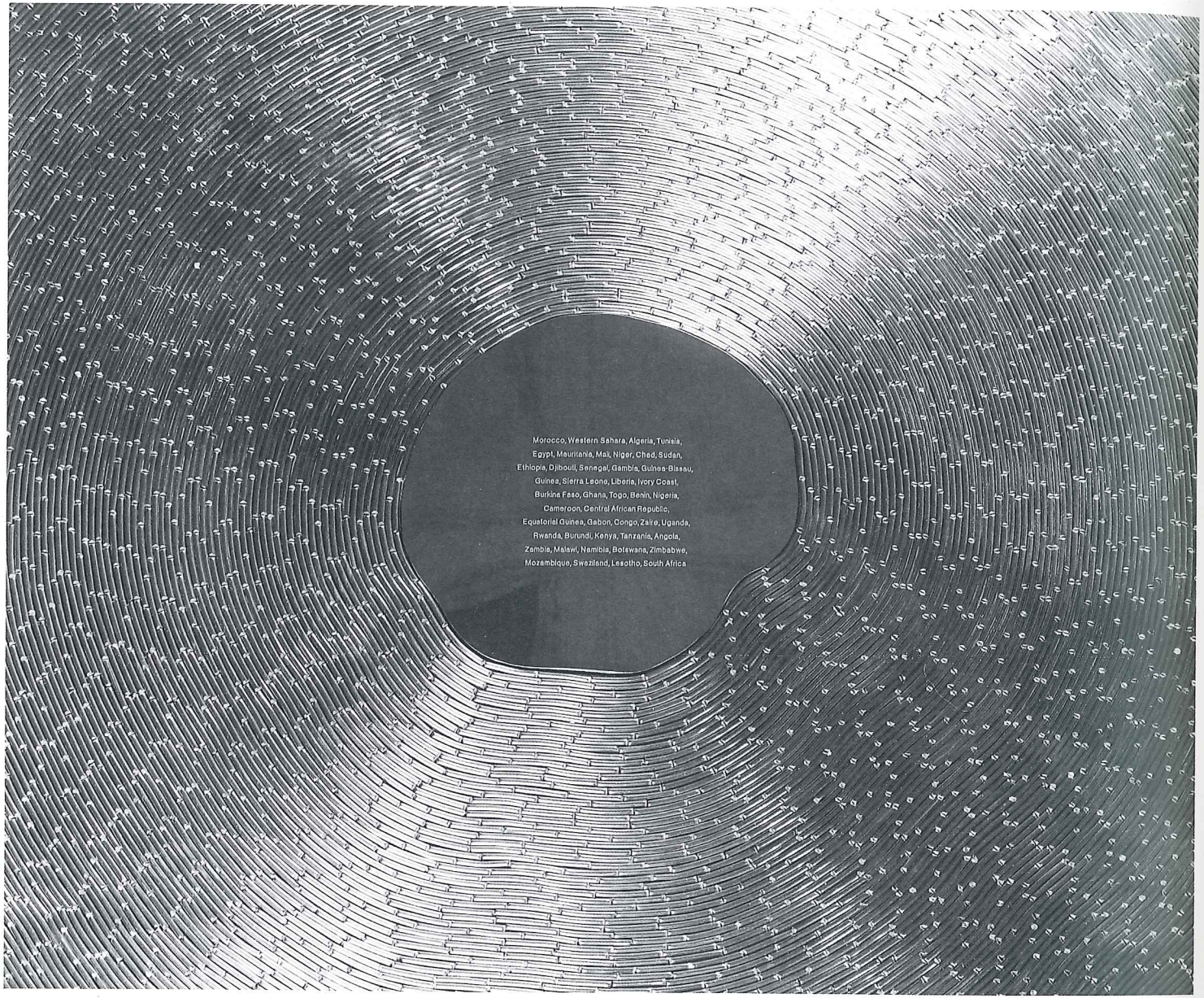
Paolozzi's experiment was taken further by Clementine Deliss in the exhibition *Lotte or The Transformation of the Object* (Grazer Kunstverein, 1991). *Lotte* brought together the work of contemporary African, European and American artists to question the validity of the accepted academic divisions between ethnic, traditional and contemporary art. Works by Jeff Koons, Mike Kelley, Lubaina Himid, Haim Steinbach and Rosemarie Trockel were shown next to manufactured plastic dolls, kettles, jugs and shoes, metal toys, barbers' boards and printed textiles from all over West Africa, fashion devils from Sierra Leone and proverb trees from Ghana. Similarities between materials, compositions and forms confused the basis for any strict division between so-called non-Western and contemporary art and raised questions about the validity of the 'art establishment's' (museums, galleries, critics, dealers, etc) preferred divisions and exclusions according to geographical or historical criteria.

Juxtaposition, as a technique for subversion, has also been used by Mary Bouquet in *Melanesian Artefacts: postmodernist reflections* (Museu de Etnologia, Lisboa, 1988). The exhibition played on the rich creative potential in the idea of an artifact defined as 'something artificial that is produced or occurs (e.g. an experiment) as a result of extraneous influences'. The collection, held by the University of Oporto, had been obtained through exchange with the Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin and was registered, that is to say ordered and incorporated, according to different systems of classification each with their own particular logic. Two orders of objects coexisted simultaneously, each brought in to existence by the numerical or alphabetical markings inscribed on or

attached to the original object. The object itself connoted an earlier identity and logical affiliation to the non-European complex of ideas and usages, subsumed under its later classifications. The juxtaposition of label / written marking with original object re-created the object in the museum, making problematical its meaning and significance, but acknowledging an itinerary or what Appadurai calls a 'biography' to question both the intellectual and physical hold the West excercises over exotic objects (23). This subversive scepticism underlay the work of artists such as Claudio Goulart and Carlos Capelán shown at *In Fusion: New European Art* (a National Touring Exhibition from the South Bank Centre in collaboration with the Ikon Gallery, shown at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, 1993). Goulart's work, *Vale Quanto Pesa*, juxtaposed neat rows of gold suitcases laid flat on the floor with reproductions of De Bry's prints which were mounted on the cases, showing the Spaniards' barbarity to native Americans, contrasting a militaristic and a touristic invasion of America.

A second strategy of visual criticism may be termed 'subversion by order'. The Belgian artist Marcel Broodthaers, the American artist Fred Wilson and the British film-maker Peter Greenaway have, in different ways, brilliantly pioneered this strategy by accepting the principles and rules of Western classifications but then applying them to invent new classifications which either create bizarre associations or which, once translated from textbooks or written compendiums to the assemblage of objects themselves, establish dramatic and startling parodies. In his use of parody, Broodthaers questions the very existence of institutional museums. In one intervention (1968-9), he concocts a *Department of Modern Art* housed in his studio home at 30, Rue de la Pépiniere in Brussels. Similar installations were made in Antwerp and Dusseldorf until in 1972, the installation *Musée* was closed at *Dokumenta 5* in Kassel. The first installation to inaugurate the nineteenth-century Department consisted of packing crates used to transport paintings, 40 postcards of works by David, Ingres, Courbet and Meissonnier, and the projection of slides of prints by Grandville. The *Musée* was identified by the sign stencilled on windows, by the numbering of rooms mimicking the numeration given to galleries, by a letterhead, invitation cards, an inaugural address, a buffet and all the ephemera of stationery without the monolithic organization, rules, conventions, procedures, and assumed aesthetic, economic and cultural fictions characteristic of conventional museums. Broodthaers here was proposing a radical critique of the institutional framing of art works, the pretentiousness of the private view, and the commoditization of art which he challenged with postcard reproductions and the conflation of places for the storage and production of art with the place of its reception. His most sustained attack on classification came with the *Section de Figures* exhibition, *Der Adler vom Oligozan bis Heute* (The Eagle from the Oligocene to the Present, Stadtlische Kunsthalle, Dusseldorf 1971) of more than 300 representations of eagles from paintings, comic strips, fossils, typewriters, ethnographic objects and product logos. As Crimp remarked: *'The Section des Figures* demonstrates the oddness of the museum's order of knowledge by presenting us with another, "impossible" order' (24).

Fred Wilson in the United States follows a similar strategy in generating an often humourous critique which has devastatingly subversive effects. In one display, twentieth-century masterpieces, usually isolated in painting galleries, were re-arranged with furniture from decorative art collections to produce cosy domestic interiors whose ambiguity was further exaccerbated by its homely credibility (*The Museum: Mixed Metaphors*, Seattle Art Museum, 1992). Elsewhere he has displayed ethnographic objects on plinths in the manner of Western sculptures, while tightly cramping paintings together in cases alluding to earlier displays of ethnographic objects.



Tanzania , 1995 (detail)
Engraved brass plaque, cut brass wire

Classifications already compromised by aesthetic considerations were 'mined' with startling results. Iron slave shackles were added to a case displaying metalwork, selectively represented by silver bowls and table ware, or the names of paintings were changed to re-direct the visitor's gaze on to the normally unseen black slave children (*Mining the Museum,* Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore,1992).

Greenaway has translated his fascination with extra-narrative order and classification, from a film to a museum context. Two of his exhibitions, *100 Objects to Represent the World* (Academy of Fine Arts, Hofburg Palace and Semper Depot, Wien, 1992) and *Some Organising Principles* (Glynn Vivian Art Gallery and Museum, Swansea, 1993) began by using artifacts with specifically local associations to create visual statements about universal principles of order and propriety. Strict typologies and a highly structured serialization of objects, dramatically enhanced by the choreographed play of light and sound, made visible the effects of the normally abstract rules used to organise and classify objects and phenomena.

Within this very briefly sketched history of critical artistic interventions in museum institutions, the work of Shirley Chubb has particular importance. Unlike other works discussed here, Chubb's critical insights are expressed neither through strategies of juxtaposition nor re-classification. Her work both physically and conceptually 'holds' the objects. She incorporates and re-shapes non-Western pieces to make explicit meanings noted neither by the museum nor the indigenous manufacturer. The objects form an integral part of each installation constructed around them. The ethnographic objects are in each case the starting point for a larger work which draws out and develops the elliptical meanings generated and existing in an intercultural space between societies and historical periods. Objects have no stable or necessary meaning. Almost a century separates most of these artifacts from their manufacturers, during which time they have assumed new meanings determined by their consequent histories. For Shirley Chubb it is not a classification by function (a fascination, for example, with drums, charms or looms) or cultural geographical area (coastal West Africa or central Africa), nor even with the process of collecting, that has motivated her interests. It is what she sees as the resonances within these very simple objects that are all the stronger for the ambiguity and dissonance they set up between radically different cultural realities. There is no pretence here at objectivity. It is the subjective hold of the artist-curator who mediates the Western associations of objects; baskets are associated with nurturance and plenitude, and the mythically charged meeting of David Livingstone with Henry Stanley at Ujiji, Lake Tanganyika, commemorated on a brass plaque mounted on a section of the mango tree under which the event supposedly took place, is reinterpreted and redisplayed.

As part of this installation a basket is cased in a simple glass-fronted box. Twenty-two identical boxes, each with an etching of the basket on the glass front, are arranged in linear order to represent each year since Angola became independent from Portugal in 1975. Suspended between the back of the box and the front piece of glass is a word or short phrase from *The Times* newspaper describing the political situation and social conditions in the country. The words connote poverty, famine, civil strife, death, seen through the etching of the basket and its subjective associations of plenitude and nurturance. The worth of the basket as an ethnographic testimonial is questioned - the basket's incorporation into a larger work creates a communicative and emotive power that re-humanizes and revindicates a meaning that transcends both cultural boundaries. The last box represents the current year, 1995. Waiting to assume and communicate a history not yet made, the etched basket, lacking any

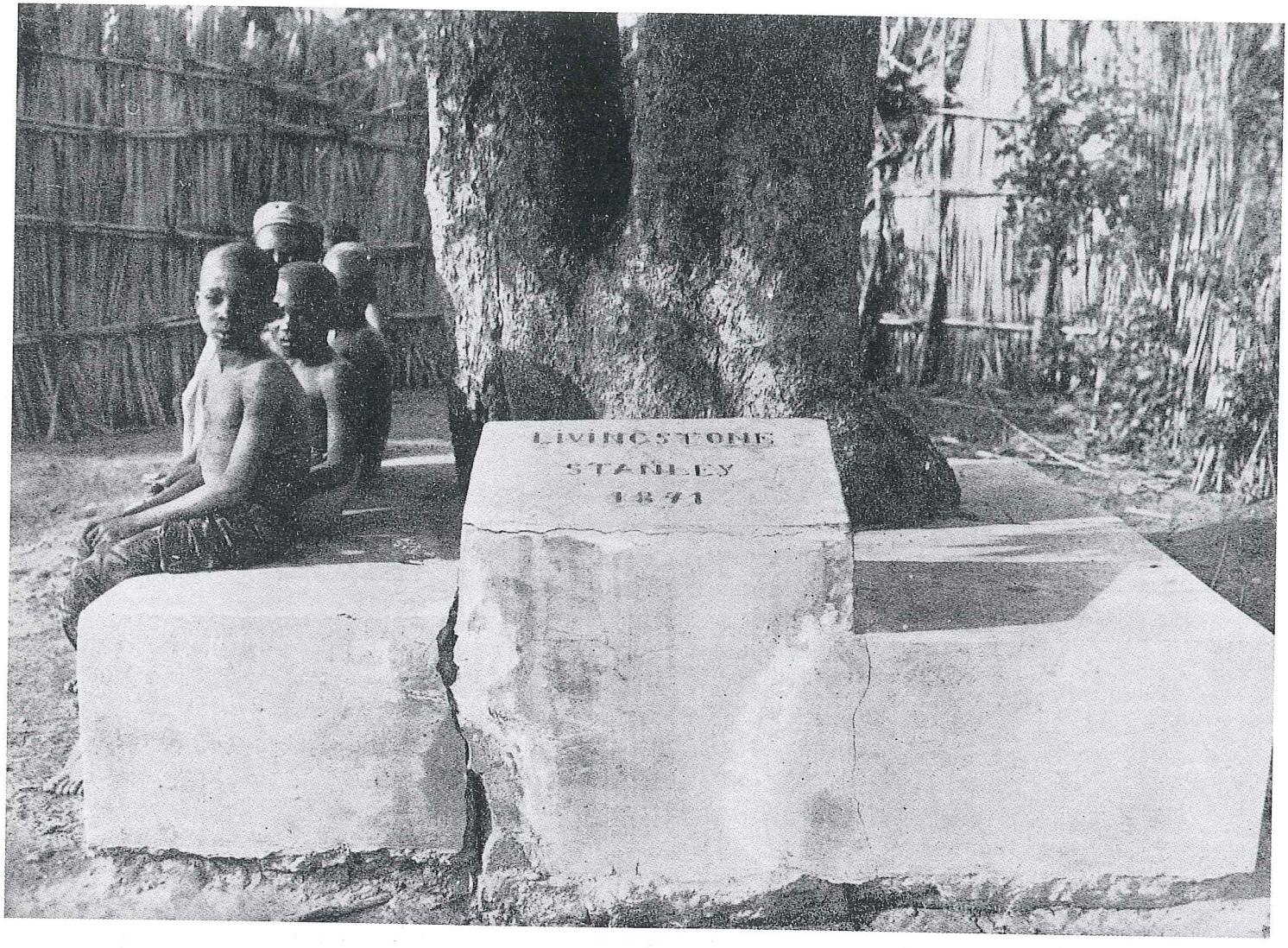
further signifier, demands we consider the future of such a country. The object as testimonial is made problematic, but the dissonance it effects at the interfaces of Western perceptions and conceptions of other societies, is deeply moving and full of pathos and irony, which questions our personal and existential relationship to other cultures.

In another work, a drum made from a discarded tin of powdered milk is encased in a box. Eight surrounding boxes, in combination with the ninth box holding the actual object, represent the nine months of female gestation and are covered with powdered milk and striations painstakingly built-up with layers of paint representing the estimated number of babies that die every hour for reasons relating to the consumption of powdered milk.

The work of artists like Paolozzi, Broodthaers, Wilson, Greenaway, or Chubb, and of anthropological curators like Hainard (25), Bouquet and Deliss may be considered either experimental, which they incontestably are, or subversive. Their work is unnerving in that it substitutes the illusion of a stable and neat world in which everything has a harmonious and necessary place, by a temporary, always conditional reality, whose terms are in flux, contested, contradicted; which is forever menaced by the constant threat of disorder, pollution and dissonance, issuing each time from a new source or direction. Within the terms of our worldly existence, we are all geographical immigrants, we are all caught in unending passages of knowledge, marginalised from creativity, lost in labyrinths of half-truths, irreconciled and cut off from our neighbours. The distinguished French critic, Jean Baudrillard, imagines a singularly depressing world in which, having lost our humanity, we have all become mutants. It is no longer appropriate to see ourselves as playwrights or actors, but as 'terminals of multiple networks' with our living room becoming our recieving and operating area (26). The Chicano artist, Enrique Chagoya, himself betwixt and between the ancient cultural history of his native Mexico and the technologically advanced society north of its border, writes: 'Real immigration takes place internally. People come here, but it may be years before they land here. It has nothing to do with paper. Instead of change of place, it is a journey of spirit' (27). If artists such as Shirley Chubb and those discussed in this paper, as well as anthropological curators, have their way, museums may become less conservative institutions dedicated to holding objects for successive generations and more like laboratories where the essential experiments and distillations of creativity occur and are channelled to fortify our historical being and provide signs through the moral and existential anxieties and uncertainties that face us at the century's close.

1 Quoted in Arnold 1994: 28.
2 The definitions of hold in this essay have been taken from *The New Collins Concise English Dictionary.*
3 Harbison 1977.
4 This is not to imply that the Gothic museum does not order or classify the objects on display or in store, only that the visual language of the architecture always threatens to overpower the work of curatorship.
5 Völger 1994.
6 Exhibition *The Stairs, Geneva, The Location Geneva,* April 1994.
7 Attie 1991.
8 Instead of denying its unique resonances, styles, taboos, conventions etc., Charles Hunt has suggested they may be made its principal and seductive virtues: "is it not also a unique quality of museums that they are different, set apart and full of anomalous curiosities?". See Hunt 1978.
9 Hall 1994: 6-7.
10 Personal communication.
11 Mcleod 1994.
12 Harrison 1992.

13 Davison 1993.
14 Shelton 1992.
15 Colonial personnel were one of the principal groups of benefactors of museums, thereby influencing the profiles of museum collections. Missionaries and military personel were known to have destroyed figurative sculptures and masks in the colonies because of their believed complicity in strengthening resistance to foreign political and religious domination. The world's museum holdings of African art probably only represent a fraction of the much bigger total that was wantonly destroyed.
16 The South Bank Centre 1993: 22.
17 This criteria has been used in a number of exhibitions including: *40,000 Years of Modern Art* (Institute of Contemporary Art, London, 1948); *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and Modern* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1984); and *Magiciens de la Terre* (Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1989).
18 Avé 1980.
19 Leyton 1993.
20 *Transatlantic Slavery - Against Human Dignity*, 1994.
21 These exhibitions include: *Objets pretextes, objets manipules*, 1984; *Temps perdu, temps retrouvé*, 1985; *Le Mal et la Douleur*, 1986; *Le Trou*, 1990; *A chacun sa croix*, 1991; *Les Femmes*, 1992; *Si*, 1993; *Marx 2000*, 1994. See Bentham 1994, for a review of *Marx 2000*.
22 Ades 1985: 65.
23 Appadurai 1986.
24 Crimp 1989: 79.
25 Hainard is a curator at the Musée D'Ethnographie at Neuchâtel.
26 Baudrillard 1988: 16-17.
27 Nash 1994.



The mango tree and the stone erected in commemoration of the meeting of Livingstone and Stanley, at Ujiji, Lake Tanganyika, 1871. Courtesy of the British Museum.

CONTACT

Greg Hilty

Looking Out

In 1871 the famous encounter between the Scottish explorer David Livingstone and the Welsh-American Henry Stanley took place at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika in east Africa. In 1930, a mango tree - reputed to be the one under which this meeting occurred - was cut down, although a later photograph appears to show the famous tree still standing. In 1994, the young British artist Shirley Chubb uncovered, in the stores of the Non-Western Art collection at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, a slice of the felled tree, on to which had been nailed a brass plate referring to the historic event. This object, its plaque, and its uncertain provenance provide a nexus of meanings, perhaps all the more poignant for their precarious coincidence. Shirley Chubb has placed this resonant object at the actual and metaphorical centre of her exhibition at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, counterbalanced by a replica on which are engraved the names of all of today's mainland African states. Coiled around and connecting the two stumps are 140 kilogrammes of brass wire, the same quantity that Stanley took with him on his expedition for the purpose of barter with the local peoples. The main object of attention - the point, so to speak, of the display - is thus rendered inaccessible and practically invisible by a symbol of its own resonance, rippling away from the centre. The artifact, having had restored or loaded on to it a certain dignity, now seems to be all but drowning in it.

The Stanley and Livingstone legend, commemorated here, is one of the best-known and most represented moments in the 'discovery' of the 'Dark Continent', Africa. Its renown no doubt rests upon its having been a meeting between two men with easily pronounceable names, from two powerful Western nations. Many more encounters between European and African, between indigenous inhabitant and explorer, trader, or invader, undoubtedly took place in the late nineteenth century whether recorded or not. In recent years, the cultural 'exploration' of Africa and other non-European cultures, both historic and contemporary, has been gathering momentum. Already well established in music and literature, *globalism* - which can be narrowly defined as the recognition and promotion in the West of art from non-Western cultures - is now a growing force in the visual arts. Notable recent landmarks in this process include the major historical exhibition *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and Modern* staged by the Museum of Modern Art, New York in 1984, which systematically brought together many of the icons of early European Modernism with objects drawn from 'primitive' cultures, in particular those of Africa, which had exerted a profound influence upon certain early twentieth-century artists - among them Picasso, Matisse, and Brancusi. The 1989 exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre*, organised by the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, broke new ground by bringing together Western and non-Western contemporary artists in equal numbers and on supposedly equal terms. But just as the phrase 'world music' has come, paradoxically, to signify work not from anywhere in the world, as one might expect, but precisely from those parts of the world that are not the West, so the concept of 'world art' retains within it sets of hierarchical distinctions. As with the geographical explorations of the second half of the nineteenth century,

mystique and misconceptions have accompanied this wave of artistic discovery. Most fundamental and pernicious is the persistent fallacy that the world is strange, uncharted, and 'other' until registered in the Western consciousness. Until a place has been mapped, it is not there; when it is, it is only by grace of our acknowledgement.

The art world of today can be compared to passengers aboard some luxury ocean liner, say the QEII, who have for years travelled the seas in comfort and security. Although thoroughly isolated, their environment was big enough and busy enough - what with the jogging, playing bridge, and dressing for dinner - for the passengers not to get restive, and they were anyway sometimes let off at ports like Gibraltar, to taste the local brew. Now, though, the cruise is over, and having set foot on *terra firma* for good, the former passengers feel an almost boundless sense of freedom and well-being at their new-found contact with the wider world. They realise before long, however, that the beach that looked clean and white from the sea is polluted; the paths that lead romantically off it soon branch in contrary and confusing directions; and the people they meet on shore are neither surprised, nor invariably pleased, to meet them. Part - and only part - of the problem is that these shores have been visited before, by ancestors of today's QEII cruisers, who were inclined to walk away with trophies of their visits. The place of collections of such objects in Western museums and their presentation in permanent or temporary displays, is of course a crucial and highly sensitive one. It is an issue which Shirley Chubb tackles head on.

'There is no exhibition without construction and therefore - in an extended sense - appropriation.' So writes Michael Baxandall in a telling essay on the different kinds of intention inherent in museum displays. For Baxandall, an exhibition cannot ever be said to 'represent' a culture; what it does, rather, is to establish 'a field in which at least three distinct terms are independently in play - makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects' (1). Shirley Chubb jumps nimbly into this complicated field, where players who may look the same are in fact playing different games, and plays them all. She is at once maker, exhibitor, and viewer. Much recent art practice - the game at which Shirley Chubb is an experienced professional - seeks to persuade us that the artistic motive is almost entirely one of articulating relationships between existing objects, within pre-determined contexts. The artist, in this view, represents an intelligence at work on a structure: like Louise Lawler from the United States, whose wry photographic documentation of fine art collections seeks to lay open the relation between the prestige of great works and their provenance; or the French artist Sophie Calle's investigations of the residual aura of works of art that have either been stolen, or more prosaically lent out, from museum collections. More immediately pertinent is the artistic/curatorial practice of the American Fred Wilson, including his installation *Mining the Museum* at the Maryland Historical Society, in Baltimore, in 1992. In a single vitrine Wilson placed not only several fine examples of repoussé silver vessels, but also a set of iron slave shackles from the same period. The doubly efficient caption - *Metalwork, 1793-1880* - sets up a clear and harsh irony, intended not as mere word play, but as a trigger to consider the historical interdependence of two such seemingly distinct sets of objects (2). Where Wilson adroitly absorbs the role of curator into his practice as an artist, Chubb, while also displaying museum artifacts within her installations, incorporates them physically, not just conceptually, into the very fabric of her work. What they share, along with many of their contemporaries, is a need to search for meaning not in the recesses of their own imaginations or psyches, but in the treasure trove

of cultural artifacts washed up at their feet, or dug up after long searching (3). We are witnessing confirmation of Thomas McEvilley's anticipation in 1990 of a global trend which 'suggests a continuing amalgamation of cultural streams at the same time that each is sharply refocused on its selfhood, as self and other, or sameness and difference, seek a new balance' (4).

Looking In

A slice of tree that proclaims its own historical significance. A shallow wicker dish, or basket, that might have been made almost anywhere but was in fact made in Angola, a country devastated by civil war over the past twenty years. A part of a hand-loom from which radiate four strips of stiffened canvas, lines of history being simultaneously commemorated and unravelled. A tin of powdered milk, of considerable but indeterminate age, wrapped in goatskin to make a drum. Small brass weights, used by Asante tradesmen to measure out gold dust: each one in the miniature form of ordinary but symbolic objects - a rifle, a ceremonial stool, a hoe, a seed pod, a ladder, a pair of slippers.

These are the objects Shirley Chubb has chosen out of the stores of the Non-Western Art collection at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, to include in her exhibition, *Hold*. Apart from the tree, which bears more than its share of bathos, none of these items make any claim to importance of a social, historical, or even aesthetic kind. Rather than rare or special treasures, which she might well have selected, the artist has singled out objects which are exceptional only by virtue of the distance between where they come from and where they are, and the fact that someone once had it in mind to transport them across this distance. Points of affinity between yesterday's traffic in exotic goods and today's long-distance communication interest Shirley Chubb. The tin of powdered milk could, judging by its design, be anything up to half or three-quarters of a century old. The tin itself is glimpsed through gaps or holes in the skin wrapped round it, a striking visual metaphor for its partial absorption into a non-European culture, and for our partial ability to witness a European past within the artifacts of another continent. What must have made this object stand out, when first seen by the artist, is its relevance to the current ethical debates surrounding the aggressive marketing by Western corporations of their products to Third World markets, with corporate profits rather than customers' health the primary goal. The tin is contained within one of nine boxes (one for each month of pregnancy) that protrude from the gallery wall; the other eight are coated in powdered milk. The issue may be news now, the improvised drum quietly tells us, but children have been dying for decades. In fact, worldwide, stastics indicate that 120 die every hour, for reasons related to the consumption of powdered rather than breast milk. These 120 are represented by the same number of tiny marks that cover the remaining eight boxes, painstaking acknowledgement that every unit counts. An even greater number of these signature marks cover two of the elements of an adjacent piece, constructed around a small black Kuduo pot, used among Asante people for both burial and birth ceremonies. These modest artifacts have become keys to complicated symbolic equations about the societies from which they have been taken.

The projection back and forth of historical readings is even more elaborately staged in the Angolan piece. Twenty-two small boxes have been constructed and mounted as if on permanent display on the wall of the

museum. Twenty-one boxes, at the back of which can be discerned a painted relief representation of a map of Angola, have glass front covers, on each of which the artist has etched an identical image of a basket, and a different word or short phrase. The texts are drawn from articles in the British press about Angola (one for every year since Independence was achieved in 1975) taken from whichever issue was nearest to the date of the anniversary itself, 10 November. When read all together, these snatches of reports constitute a kind of stammering narrative of exclamatory cliché: the flag / clash / shot dead / third anniversary / 'victories' / aid and comfort / dogfight / national day / contradictory claims / quest / plea / one white and one black / dispute battle credit / mediated talks / legacy / cycle / family / stands on the brink / each day / called off. The mediated nature of the information is emphasised by retaining the typefaces characteristic of the classic British quality papers, *The Times* or The *Independent*, and by enlarging or shrinking each word or phrase to fit the format, just like column inches. The very first box on the wall displays no text, but instead holds the simple woven basket, on which the etched representations have been based. The work highlights how little - in spite of our thirst for information and our arrogant belief that we somehow own what we have learned - we can really understand of the way ordinary history, everyday tragedy, develops over time in a place from which we are so remote.

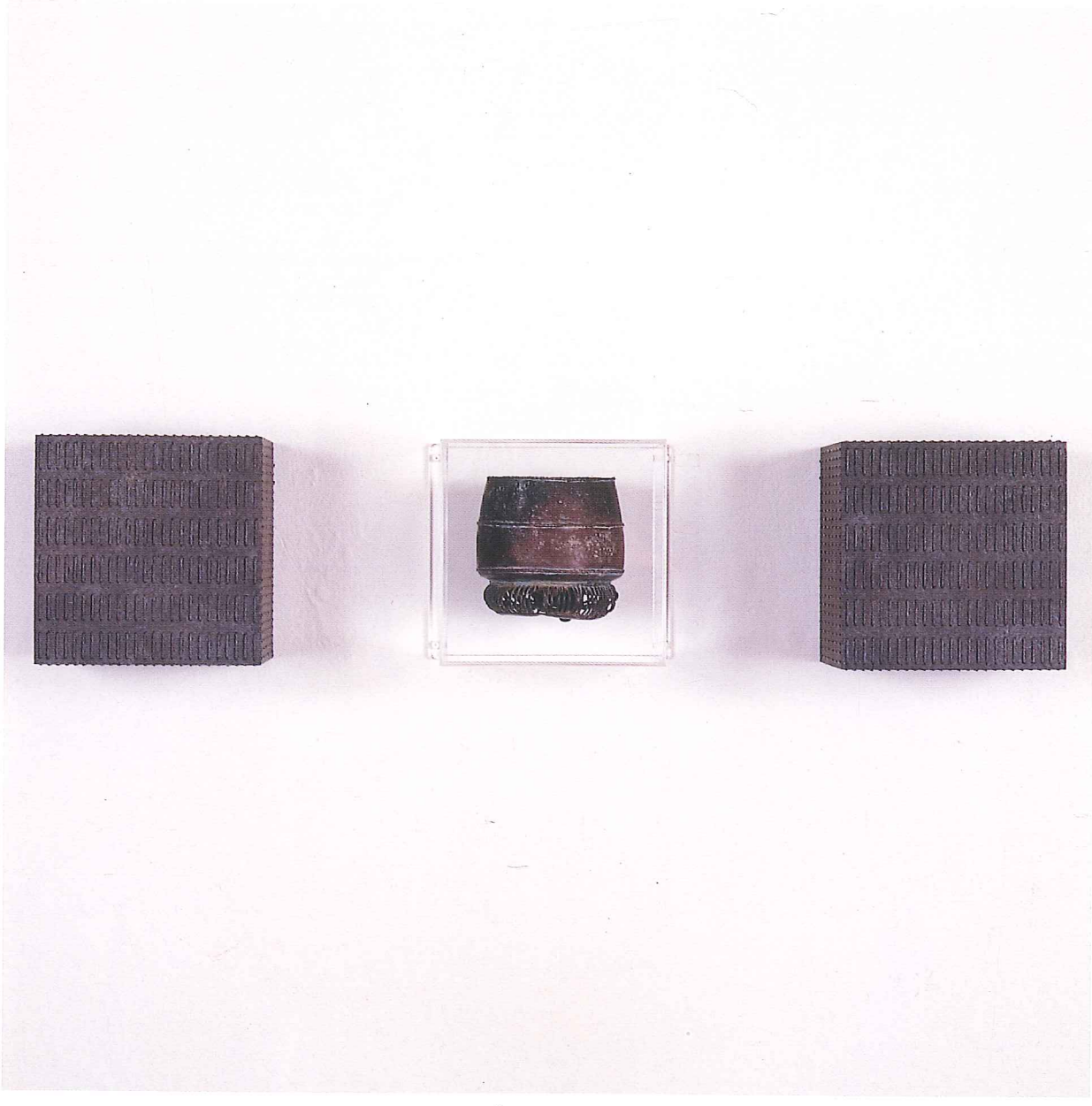
It should be clear that, in the context of the appropriation of objects from other cultures for artistic purposes described before, Shirley Chubb's attention remains firmly and deliberately focused on herself, and her place within her own culture. She makes no claims for a privileged understanding of the objects she has taken the unusual opportunity to 'hold' in her own hands, nor of the cultures which they can be seen to represent, although her research is thorough and her approach respectful. It is, however, her evocation of stereotype, and of the limited nature of the Western grasp of other cultures, that gives these new works their potency. Her choice of the word *Hold* for a title is in itself highly evocative. Museums hold exhibitions which hold boxes which hold objects which hold meanings. In spite of its frequent associations with permanence and tradition, 'holding' is a rather fragile concept. What is held is in a state of tension - held in trust, held fast, held hostage - which a new set of circumstances can agitate or break. The other sense of 'hold' that is equally relevant here, and equally tense, is that of the momentary pause, the freeze-frame, in which a situation in flux can be briefly considered in stillness. This aspect of contingency, of an instantaneous coming together at one point of a set of diverse elements under very specific conditions, is apparent in the artist's choice of objects (she could have chosen others) from a single collection with a history of its own, and in the works' strong visualisations of instability - the concentric outpouring of brass wire, the skin that simultaneously covers and reveals the powdered milk tin, the juddering fragments of news from the Angolan front.

A final piece takes flux, and its measurement, as overt subject matter. Out of the wall seem to grow box-like constructions cast in a dark, pungent wax, evoking some giant circular beehive. The wax is in fact African, a 'raw material' recently imported. Out of the boxes protrude, in regular rows, hundreds of very small lozenge shapes. Chubb has frequently used these notational marks in her work before, and suggests that they simply stand for individual lives, among the burden of collective imagery she habitually manipulates. Grouped as they are here, they seem to suggest discrete units, perhaps families or communities, within a larger and more fluid organisation. The artist's intention is in fact to depict the unstable nature of many large settlements in Ghana,

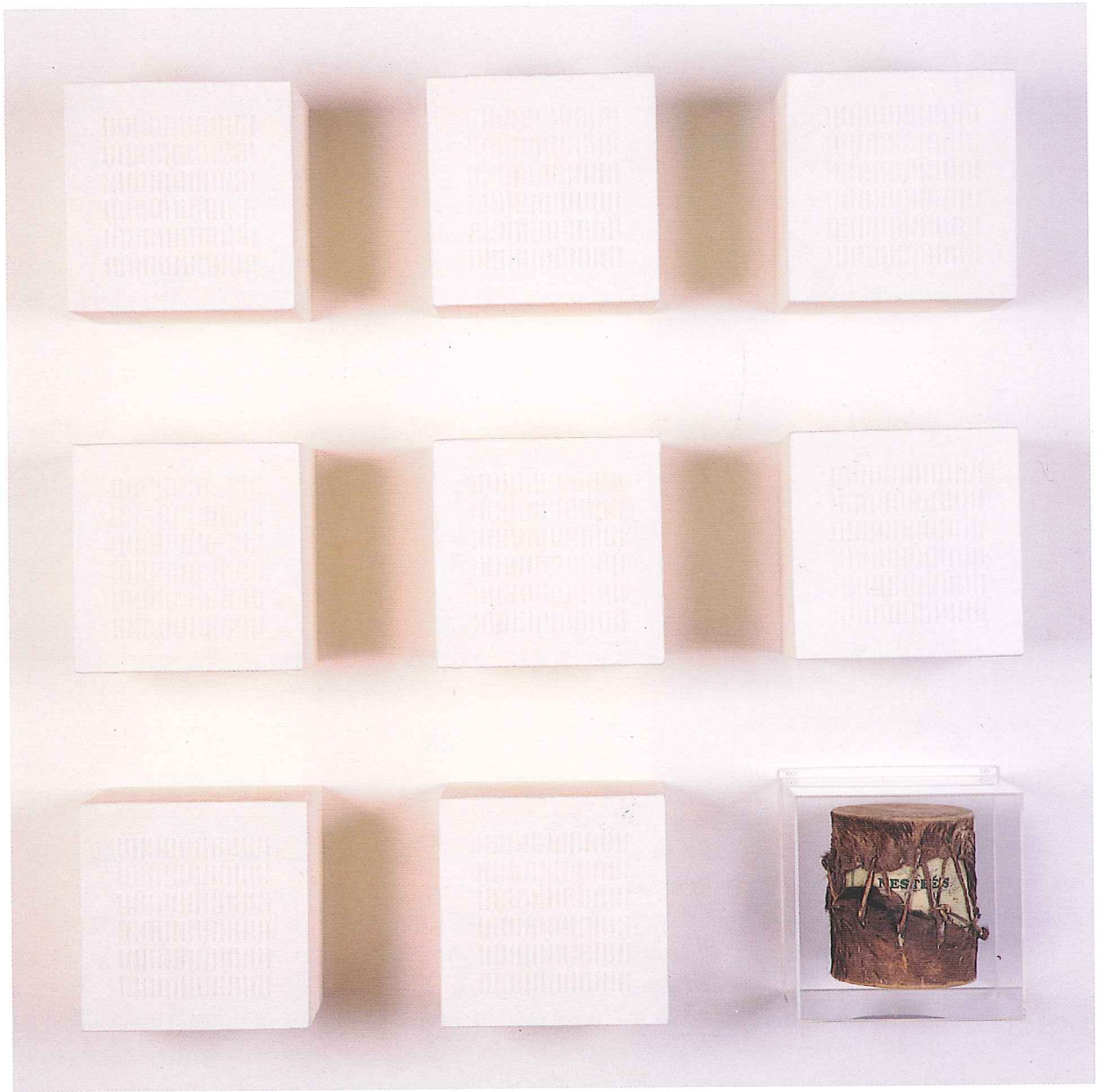
whose populations ebb and flow on a seasonal basis. Here, the units total 1500, representing the maximum number of inhabitants of a particular Asante community. Interspersed among the wax-covered boxes are miniature perspex containers, each holding a very small brass weight, the delicate forms of which represent aspects of Asante culture. These miniature cast sculptures are not themselves of great value. They are tokens, both for assessing a quantity of gold, which is of value as currency, and for reminding people of what they hold in value culturally. Brought into a work like this, they are tokens of tokens, symbols of value transcending the particular value systems of which they form a part. At the same time, we are compelled to remember that this 'transcendence' is not an intrinsic quality of the objects themselves, but a condition of their having been uprooted and transferred to another culture. Shirley Chubb, in all modesty, restores their particularity while asserting her own. Her aim may be as simple as to demonstrate that it is with such objects of beauty, care, and resonance, that the Asante and the English, and most human populations, continue to weigh the worth of their existence.

1 Baxandall1990: 34.
2 Wilson1994: 152.
3 A similar approach characterised the whole curatorial enterprise of the 1992 Sydney Biennale, an exhibition curated by Anthony Bond and titled *The Boundary Rider*. Cultural excavation and cross-cultural scavenging were the order of the day. Predictably, some contributions were sharper than others with a range of approaches that stretched from the New Age inclusiveness of an artist like Tim Johnson, to the icy appropriationism of Haim Steinbach, via the political lyricism of Jimmie Durham.
4 McEvilley 1990: 131.

Installation at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery: *Tanzania* (foreground), *Ghana I* (background), 1995



Ghana II, 1995
Cast vessel (Kuduo), perspex case, acrylic on board, 15 x 50 cm



Provenance Unknown, 1995
Drum, perspex case, milk powder on board, 80 x 80 cm

Gambia, 1995 (detail)
Beater (from a narrow strip loom), perspex case, board, acrylic on canvas

ON HOLD / MARKS OF MORTALITY

David Reason

Roland Barthes has a haunting tale of the 'origin of art' (1). He tells of a young woman and her lover in classical times. He is to go to war. She, as a precaution against heartbreak, traces the outline of his shadow as it is thrown by the bright sun on the courtyard wall. In this sample of today's cultural mythologies I find a parable that enables us to refract the white light of art's making - its making, and its working. In this representation the first drawing stands as a defence against a crippling loss, as an investment to be drawn upon as a security against succumbing to nostalgia. Equally, this woman's story outlines a sense of art as the very occasion of nostalgia, of the invocation of treasured memory. And yet again, in this dialectic of pain and presence, she provides herself with a talisman, a reassurance: after all, something here continues, an existence is vouchsafed beyond mere memory's remembrance.

I was reminded of this tale when I first saw the recent work of Shirley Chubb. In her carefully constructed litanies I perceived an insistence on memorialising without monuments the pains of change and loss, of power and mortality. The painstaking work of abstraction - kin both to symbolization and to imperious appropriation - compels us to scan each object and text for the intimation of a context inevitably sidestepped in the typical typifications and particularities of gallery and museum, of galley and report. By occupying the no-man's-land of a translation between there and then and here and now, the intrusion of Shirley Chubb's art into our field of vision shadows the staging of the 'antique', the 'souvenir', the 'primitive'. 'Representation' is not 'lived experience', despite the symbiosis these must enjoy, and all *showing* is also a ripping out of the flesh of history. In the museum, the indigenous work - *displayed* - is so remarkably framed as to seem presented in a *contextless* manner, emphasising its *exoticness*. In the gallery, native artists are rarely given the chance to control the space in major national exhibitions in case they politicise the show - or rather, in case they dramatise the politicisation with which it is always already saturated.

What follows are some of the reflections prompted in me by imagining Shirley Chubb's work in this setting, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. My thoughts turned on the transformation of exploration into tourism in today's 'postmodern' world, on considerations in the representation and redemption of the suffering of other people, and on the artistic and psychological response to an experience of splintering, of fragmententation, that seems to mark so often people's accounts of their own lives. How can one best hold and hold on to pain? memory? hope?

Consider the following excerpt from an Associated Press news wire of 27 July 1990, reporting the occasion of the opening of Ellis Island in New York harbour as a tourist sight/site. Ellis Island was the first American soil touched by the waves of European refugees and immigrants who sought prosperity and freedom and dignity in a new land:

Focus on Ellis Island, soon to be site of America's National Museum of Immigration

The noble, soaring spaces are radiantly clean and dry again. Light streams in on a summer day. On one or two patches of wall restorers have left poignant graffiti, scribbled names and drawings of outstretched hands. The graffiti was the artwork of immigrants, some of the 12 million people seeking a new life who

passed through this main building of the Ellis Island immigration station. They were the forebears of perhaps 140 million present-day Americans (2).

To value the marks made by people, whether viewed as folk objects, as the traces of joy or distress, or as a species of primitivism, solely as art is always to indulge in an act of violence and domination. An aesthetic response to objects which are not intended as art is inevitable and to be celebrated - it is part of enjoying a world in which things are as they are - but the *aestheticisation* of such objects is deplorable and (in its way) vicious. It ignores the dimension of art which is rooted in suffering.

In this case, art, like nature, becomes the receptacle/recipient holding our fantasies of Otherness. We must be careful here, for what the work seems to give us does not originate with the work but with us, and it is we who put there our fantasies and desires, our hopes and fears, our longings and anxieties, and it is we who pull them out - *ta-daaa!* - with all the magical show of a conjuror pulling rabbits from a hat. As Freud remarked, every finding is in actuality a re-finding (3).

The history of every art can be told as an Orphic tale of fateful backward glances. The seemingly unstoppable globalization of local cultures has provided the occasion for seeking a return from the banality of contemporary culture - pointless when not petty, inflated when not trivial - in the experience of other, less urbanised, and apparently less venial cultures. Western art gets a fix from the exotic, the primitive, the Other. In the uncertain flux of fashion and the insecure tendencies of knowledge, we may look for nourishment to a primitive art of universal intensity and inventiveness. Just as these societies live through their transparent dependencies embedded in nature (or so the story goes), so their art, product of a time before history, transcends cultural and historical boundaries and reaches out to eternal values. Of course, I am caricaturing a little this view, which after all has the charm of making a virtue from the discomforts of the present, in order to point up the way in which, characteristically, it both approves the different culture and (in the same breath, like a colonial miasma) it inflicts upon it the fatal condition of *timelessness*. This is not simply patronising, it is vicious. We invest the savage face with the potency of the death mask.

Tourism today is the continuation of imperialism by other means. The holiday, themed and packaged, is the occasion for the grand industrialisation of culture, a production line of Heritage, Folklore, Leisure and Entertainment. Whether seduced by the lures of relaxation or adventure or education - relaxation without obligations of work, adventure without hazard, education without examinations - a patch of world culture can be surely conjured satisfy the desire its production delineates. Travel, but travel in safety, with all the comforts (and the thrilling discomforts) that are fantasized at home. Expeditions today are routed through the theme park brochure rather than plotted on the patchwork maps of shadowy continents.

Travel, especially foreign travel, became popular with all classes following the two World Wars. These contributed to the taste for foreign travel by exposing millions of service personnel to the excitement of faraway places. International tourism as a major industry did not get under way until the 1950s, however. Of the many factors contributing to this boom, the two most important were the U.S. prosperity relative to other countries' faltering economies in the postwar world, which gave the U.S. dollar unusual purchasing power abroad, and the advent of jet travel in 1958, which made it possible to cross the Atlantic in seven to eight hours, half the time taken by propeller aircraft and about one-eighteenth that required by surface transport - all for about the same

price.

Adding to the convenience and attractiveness of long-distance tourism was the availability of traveller's cheques, which reduced the risks of travel; the incentive of reduced fares by way of Eurorail passes, issued by Europe's state-owned railway systems (both this and the popularity of travellers' cheques are symptomatic of the rapidly changing forms of money that were experienced after the war, culminating today in the dematerialized cash in hand of credit/debit cards and electronic cash transfers); and the increased availability of packaged tours, where inexpensive transportation, accommodation, and sightseeing for groups are all arranged in advance.

After the Second World War, U.S. tourists constituted a majority in the world of travel-for-pleasure, but no longer. As other nations grew prosperous they too sent large numbers of tourists out into the world: European nationals, beginning in the 1960s; the Japanese, from the 1970s; and, notably, the once-Communist countries of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s. Tourism now plays a substantial role in the economies of African, the Caribbean, and western-European nations. Many regions of China and of the former Soviet Union - both eager for foreign business and currencies - have relaxed once-rigid travel restrictions and improved their tourist facilities.

The tourist industry is vulnerable to almost instantaneous change when war, terrorism, or disease threaten, or when economies shrink and vacations are spent at home. Some recent examples are the recession of the late 1980s, which continued to spread its effects on U.S. tourism into the 1990s; the Gulf crisis of 1990-91, which profoundly depressed tourism both to and from the United States; the upsurge of fundamentalist Muslim terrorism in Egypt beginning in 1993 which gutted the tourist industry in that country.

On the other hand, new tourist attractions emerge constantly. Ecotourism, the search for nature-in-the-raw, seems set to become the prime tourist fad of the twenty-first century, taking visitors to the great wild-animal parks of Africa and rarely seen regions of the Amazon, the Himalayas, and the Antarctic.

The economic importance of tourism is such that places come to produce themselves for visitors, for the tourist gaze. In part, this has happened for so long as there have been pilgrimages to holy sites, but the scale of the enterprise has changed utterly. Localities now seem intent on staging themselves for the lens and the postcard home, as exotic or historic or both. This is the spawning ground of the Heritage industry, which prepares an image of the past which ensures that we are kept at arm's length from our own history.

In this brave new postmodern world, Walter Benjamin's modernist figure of the strolling flâneur (4) has transformed into the package holiday-maker.

"The exotic object represents distance appropriated; it is symptomatic of the more general cultural imperialism that is tourism's stock in trade. To have a souvenir of the exotic is to possess both a specimen and a trophy; on the one hand, the object must be marked as exterior and foreign, on the other it must be marked as arising directly out of an immediate experience of its possessor" (5).

Rubbing shoulders with our neighbours in a vividly multi-cultural habitat at this end of the colonial adventure, we cannot avoid an intensified awareness of co-existing worlds of different values, practices and sensibilities. We register such differences (though noticing that gainsays nothing about the subsequent unfolding of our misunderstandings and joint histories). The urgent puzzles shift from How do we know the truth? to What is real?, a tectonic slide that is felt in all cultural spheres from music to the novel, from film to food. How can and do

radically different realities coexist, collide, interpenetrate? The fabulations of the blind Argentinian Jorge Luis Borges structure their labyrinthine texts from the standing waves of reverberating question marks: "Who was I? Today's self, bewildered, yesterday's forgotten; tomorrow's, unpredictable?" The key novels of Philip K Dick - writing from the headworld of junkstrewn Californian dreaming - and of Stanislav Lem - jotting messages-in-bottles from the beleaguered Ideology Committee of his alternative reality - delight in whipping out from under our readerly feet the rug-and-slippers of Faith in the One Certain World. (As might be said to the inhabitants of 'Toonland, Don't look now but we're running on air!) Not only are there other worlds, spaces, realities - we can't even be sure that we know which one we're in. Science fiction, as always, comes of our age.

Where does this take us? A graffiti from before the changes signalled by the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989 spells out the terror of that version of modernisation pursued under 'really existing socialism': The future is certain; only the past is unpredictable. In the *Post-Modern Universe*, though, there is no *Roller-Coaster of History* which will eventually spill us out into the *Final Amusement Park*. Without faith in a grand scheme for history, confronting the failure time and again of the plans of architects and scientists, politicians and educators, a kind of humility creeps into the rhetoric of the professions. "Make no little plans" was Daniel Burnham's confident advice in the heyday of modernism. More recently, Aldo Rossi dons the habit of modesty: "To what, then, could I have aspired in my craft? Certainly to small things, having seen that the possibility of great ones was historically precluded" (6).

The world of bits and bobs, the fragmented world, is not a symptom of the disappearance of order, but is itself an expression of a kind of order at the end of the twentieth century (as at other times, too, though registered in different tropes: from time to time things go astray). The provision of a heterotopic flux of cultural objects and consumer goods is capitalism in action. "All that is solid melts into air", as Marx observed (7), and no value or tradition is so secure as to remain unchallenged by capitalism's bourgeois revolutions.

Post-modernism (so-called) is a phenomenon of urban culture. Many commentators draw attention to the 'anticipation' of post-modernism in the metropolitan cultures of the last twenty years: foetal post-modernism was to be found among the electronic signifiers of cinema, television and video, in recording studios and record players, in fashion and youth styles, in all those sounds, images and diverse histories that are daily mixed, recycled and 'scratched' together on that giant screen which is the contemporary city.

The idea of post-modernism has been important in giving legitimate shape to a concern for acknowledging "the multiple forms of otherness as they emerge from differences in subjectivity, gender and sexualtiy, race and class, temporal (configurations of sensibility) and spatial geographic locations and dislocations", as Andreas Huyssen has argued (8). To this sensibility post-modernism owes whatever radical edge it has.

Post-modern culture is also a field representing, in a more or less mimetic fashion, the social, economic and political practices and conditions of society. There are processes of internal colonization and ghettoization at work which ensure that, alongside the homogenising tendencies of 'globalizing capitalism' (a McDonalds in every town) different yet adjacent worlds are in process of construction. But it tends to proceed by simplification and caricature in its argument. The grand stories of grand-daddies Marx and Freud were always more open, nuanced and sophisticated than their detractors - and, indeed, their followers - are usually willing to allow (hence it is not surprising to find continuities and resonances between, say, the post-Situationist ploys of Lyotard and the

troubled uncertainties of an arch-modernist Adorno).

But the celebrants and advocates of a thorough-going post-modernism are, in the end, peddling a pernicious doctrine smug in its bourgeois assurance of all things being equal - for they are not. It is at best glib, but more usually vicious, to suggest that giving a voice to the silenced guarantees them either an ear or a say: some voices are more effective than others, it seems, but post-modernist analyses are unable to explain how this can be so. Lyotard writes that: "there can be no difference between truth, authority and rhetorical seductiveness: he who has the smoothest tongue or the raciest story has the power" (9). To give up (on) any distinction between the aspiration to truth and reconciliation to uncertainty is to make way for the status quo to wreak its usual mindless havoc. The collapse of Stalinist modernism did not herald a utopia of differences: on the contrary, ghettoisation and the pogrom continued under the guise of nationalist destiny, destiny that has to be forced into existence.

However, the affirmation of fragmentariness, of transience, of the need for a radical de-centring from phallocentric, logocentric, metropolitan discourse, legislation and conduct have themselves figured as part of the constellation of themes of modernism. We find it notoriously on Surrealism's wilder shores, for example. The difference is that modernism failed to question the concept of power, whereas postmodernism - by dissolving any substance to power, by denying it the status of a lever or mechanism, and insisting (following Foucault) that it is a tactic discoursively deployed - fails to acknowledge that there is any question at all. Yet it is difficult to see how, following the relativisation of 'truth', there is any other way of understanding how one set of acknowledged interests holds sway over others.

To see a world littered with fragments and rubbish is to experience a world (and we in it) as both spoiled and as littered with spoils. Heaping the fragments provides no sure way to shore or insure against ruin. The result is a mode of experience which relishes the opportunity for nostalgia: *nostalgia*, literally, the acute pain of not being at home, the anguish of homesickness. Only in this case, home is itself a fiction, a trick of the rear view mirror. Susan Stewart puts the matter evocatively: "As in an album of photographs or a collection of antiquarian relics, the past is constructed from a set of presently existing pieces. There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory constitutes their resemblance. And it is in this gap between resemblance and identity that nostalgic desire arises. The nostalgic is enamoured of distance, not of the referent itself. Nostalgia cannot be sustained without loss. For the nostalgic to reach her of his goal of closing the gap between resemblance and identity, *lived* experience would have to take place, an erasure of the gap between sign and signified, an experience that would cancel out the desire that is nostalgia's reason for existence" (10).

Can the work of art inhabit that gap? Why make art? Why make art at all? The cynical spectator will point to the need to use what skills we have to please in order to earn a crust in this world of ours that has desacralised art. But this leaves untouched the questions of how the wee muscle of that skill comes to be exercised in this case and not that, and why such activity pleases us and/or the other. With more sophistication we can follow the psychoanalytic lead, and see the impulse to art as a form of feint, or as the trace of an attempted feint. The psychoanalytic canon regards the creative practices that can come to be valorised as 'art' as the product of four kinds of process. On these accounts we all ordinarily experience feelings that provoke in us a sense of discomfort so intense that we have an urge to refuse to acknowledge them. These repressed feelings may then gain expression through sublimation, through the attempt at reparation, through idealisation, or through an attempt at

mastering the unpleasant experience. The latter can be thought of as like the attempt to 'come to terms with' a profound loss (or rather, sense of loss) and involves the attempt to dissipate the intensity of the feeling through investing it in a symbolic 'double', a fantasy or symbol which can be recalled at will (as can all good symbols) - which has, in a sense never wholly been lost, because we flatter ourselves that we can exercise over it our superior powers of life and death, existence and annihilation.

Idealization is a different kind of defence against anguish, one that involves (typically, in art) representing a 'reality' devoid of darkness full of beauty, shining and glorious and transcendent. Chasseauguet-Smirgel has argued (in an extensive discussion of perversion's relation to creativity) that an implacable aestheticisation of our dirty world is an attempt to cover the shit in a halo of shining splendour (11). Consequently, we may enjoy the thrill of the apparently successful evacuation of all that is bad in our experience, in us.

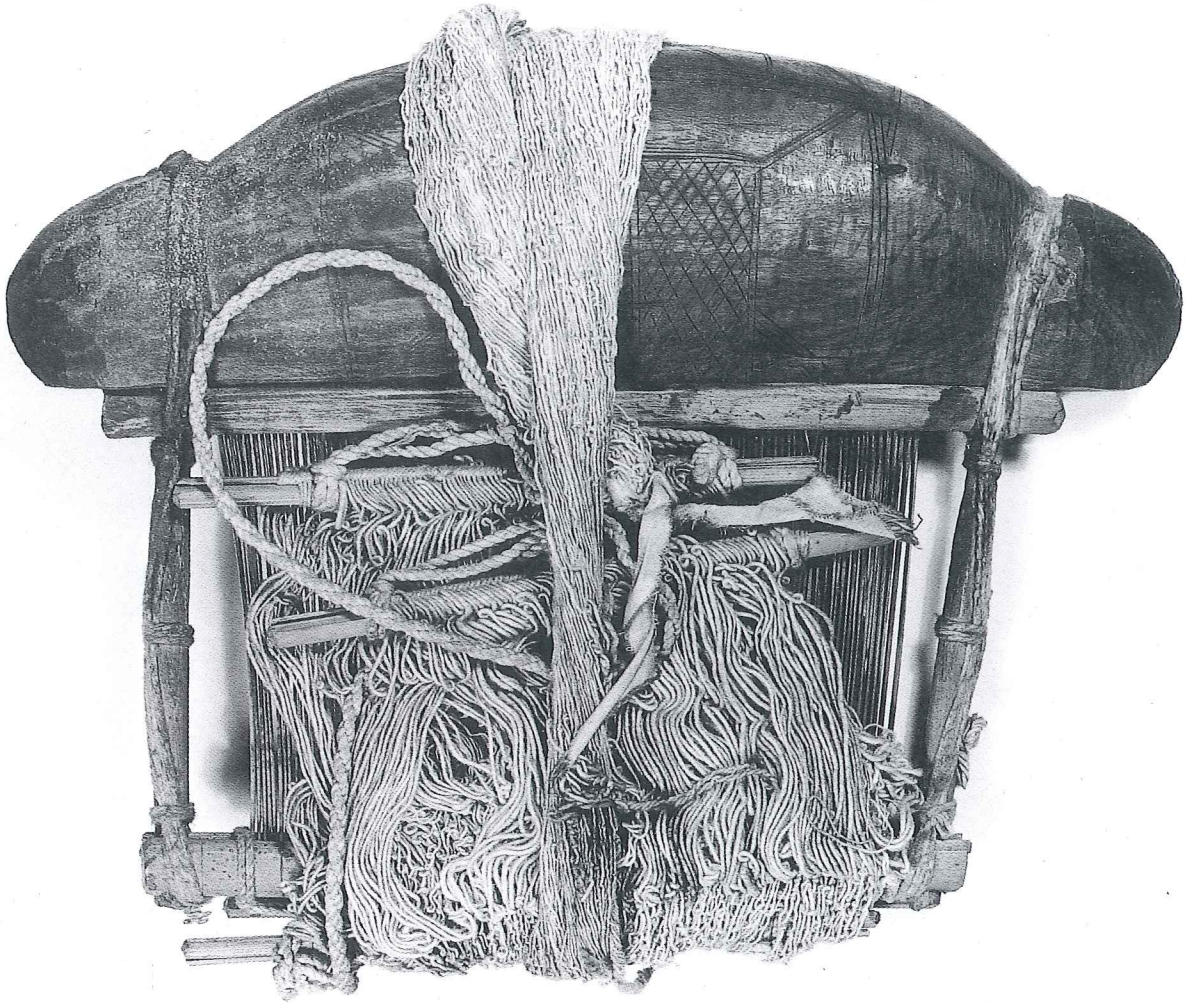
Reparation, however, refers to a desire to make amends for the destruction we unconsciously believe ourselves to have wreaked in the world. The unconscious responds as a child, and frustration is easily answered by envy and infantile rage. But there is a mirrored cost to such deep tantrums, for, just as I turn on my thwarting mother (for example) with fantasized violence, so I fear that she, feeling my aggression, may turn on me, may bite back. To forestall my own imagined destruction I try to heal and repair the damage caused by my feelings, and to placate a mother whom I imagine I have all but destroyed. Making art is an unending expression of the desire to heal - unending because always unsuccessful - , a compulsion to undo the wrongs for which I believe myself responsible.

Finally, there is that most classical of all deflections, sublimation:

> "Sublimation - a term which received little elaboration from Freud, who said that 'we will have to return to it' - is the process by means of which the psyche is forced to replace its own or private objects of cathexis [i.e. of emotional investment], including its own image of itself, with objects that exist and have value in and through their social institution, and to make them for itself 'causes', 'means' or 'supports' of pleasure" (12).

As with the souvenir, the origin of the work of art is destined to be forgotten; its tragedy lies in the death of memory, the tragedy of all autobiography and the simultaneous erasure of the autograph. Both personally and historically, the object of art's working sits in the world and in us as an unmarked grave. Shirley Chubb's takes its place in the struggle of memory against forgetting.

1 Barthes 1986.
2 Associated Press 1990.
3 Freud 1960.
4 For Benjamin see Buck-Morss 1989.
5 Stewart 1993: 146.
6 Quoted in Waugh 1992.
7 Marx 1982.
8 Huyssen 1986.
9 See Dews 1987.
10 Stewart 1993: 145.
11 Chasseauguet-Smirgel 1992.
12 Castoriadis 1995:29.



Beater (from a narrow strip loom), Manding peoples, Balsan Region, Kommbo, Gambia, early twentieth century
Non-Western Art Collection, The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton

Bibliography

Ades, Dawn 1985. 'Paolozzi, Surrealism, Ethnography', in *Eduardo Paolozzi: Lost Magic Kingdoms and Six Paper Moons from Nahuatl,* an exhibition at the Museum of Mankind, London: British Museum Publications: 61-66.

Appadurai, Arjun 1986. 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in A. Appadurai (ed) *The Social Life of Things; Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-63.

Arnold, Ken 1994. 'Authoring Chaos', in the *Museums Journal,* London: Museums Association: March: 27-28.

Associated Press 1990. 'Focus on Ellis Island, Soon to be made the Site of America's National Museum of Migration', *Associated Press News Wire*: 27 July.

Attie, Shimon 1991. *The Writing on the Wall: Projections in Berlin's Jewish Quarter,* Editions Braus.

Avé, J.B. 1980. 'Ethnographic Museums in a Changing World', in W.R. van Gulick, H.S. van der Straaten and G.D. van Wengen (eds.), *From Fieldcase to Showcase. Research, Acquisition and Presentation in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde,* Leiden, Amsterdam/Uithoorn. J.C. Gieben.

Barthes, Roland 1986. *The Responsibility of Forms,* Trans. R. Howard, Oxford: Blackwell.

Baudrillard, Jean 1988. *The Ecstasy of Communication,* New York: Semiotext(e).

Baxandall, Michael 1990. 'Exhibiting Intentions: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in Ivan Karp and Steven D, Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* Washington and London: Smithsonian Press.

Bentham, Jonathan 1994. 'Marx in 3-D' in *Anthropology Today,* London: Royal Anthropological Institute: Vol. 10: No 5.

Buck-Morss, Susan 1989 *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project,* London: MIT Press.

Castoriadis, Cornelius 1995. 'Logic, imagination, reflection', in Anthony Elliot and Stephen Frosh (eds) *Psychoanalysis in Contexts,* London: Routledge.

Chasseauguet-Smirgel, Jeanine 1992. *Perversion and Creativity,* London: Free Association Books.

Crimp, Douglas 1989. 'This is Not a Museum of Art', in *Marcel Broodthaers* , Minneapolis: Walker Art Centre: 71-91.

Davison, Patricia 1993. 'Human Subjects as Museum Objects. A Project to make life-casts of 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' 1907-1924', in the *Annals of the South Africa Museum,* Cape Town: Vol.102, Part 5: 165-183.

Dews, Peter 1987. *Logics of Disintegration: post-structuralist thought and the claims of Critical Theory,* London: Verso.

Freud, Sigmund 1960. *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life,* Trans. A Tyson, London: Hogarth Press.

Hall, James 1994. 'About Time', in The *Guardian,* Arts Section: December 5: 6-7.

Harbison, Robert 1977. *Eccentric Spaces* , New York: Avon Books.

Harrison, David 1992. 'Dead African who haunts the Barcelona Olympics', in The *Observer:* London: 8 March: 2.

Hunt, Charles 1978. 'Museums in the Pacific Islands: A Metaphysical Justification', in *Museums,* Vol.30, No.2: 68-75.

Huyssen, Andreas 1986. *After the Great Divide: modernism, mass culture, postmodernism,* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Leyton, Harrie 1993. 'Non-Western Art in Anthropological Museums', in Harrie Leyton and Bibi Damen, *Art, Anthropology and the Modes of Representation: Museums and Contemporary Non-Western Art,* Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute :15-22.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels 1982. *The Communist Manifesto,* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

McEvilley, Thomas 1990. 'Father the Void' in Declan McGonagle (ed.), *A New Necessity,* Gateshead, First Tyne International.

Mcleod, Malcolm 1994. *Devices for Combatting Time,* Glasgow: Spores: Promotional Leaflet.

Nash, Steven 1994. *Enrique Chagoya. Borders of the Spirit.* Exhibition leaflet produced by the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum: San Francisco.

Shelton, Anthony 1992. 'Constructing the Global Village', in the *Museums Journal,* London: Museums Association: August: 25-8.

Stewart, Susan 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection,* London and Durham: Duke University Press.

The South Bank Centre/ Ikon Gallery 1993. *In Fusion: New European Art*, London: The South Bank Centre.
Völger, Gisela and Piet Meyer 1994. *Objekte Schlagen Zuruck. Kammerspiel im Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Volkerkunde*, Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.
Waugh, Patricia (ed) 1992. *Postmodernism: A Reader*, London: Edward Arnold.
Wilson, Fred 1994. 'The Silent Message of the Museum', in Jean Fisher (ed), *Global Visions: Towards a New Internationalism in the Visual Arts*, London: Kala Press in association with INIVA.

Gerald Blake is Professor of Geography and Director of the International Boundaries Research Unit at the University of Durham.

Greg Hilty is Senior Curator at the Hayward Gallery, London.

David Reason is Senior Lecturer in Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

Anthony Shelton is Keeper of Non-Western Art and Anthropology at The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton and Lecturer in Critical Museology at the University of Sussex.

Details on blank pages:
Asante gold weights, Asante people, Ghana, cast brass, early twentieth century
Non-Western Art Collection, The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton

Back cover: *Ghana I*, 1995 (detail)
Asante gold weight, perspex case, African beeswax on board